

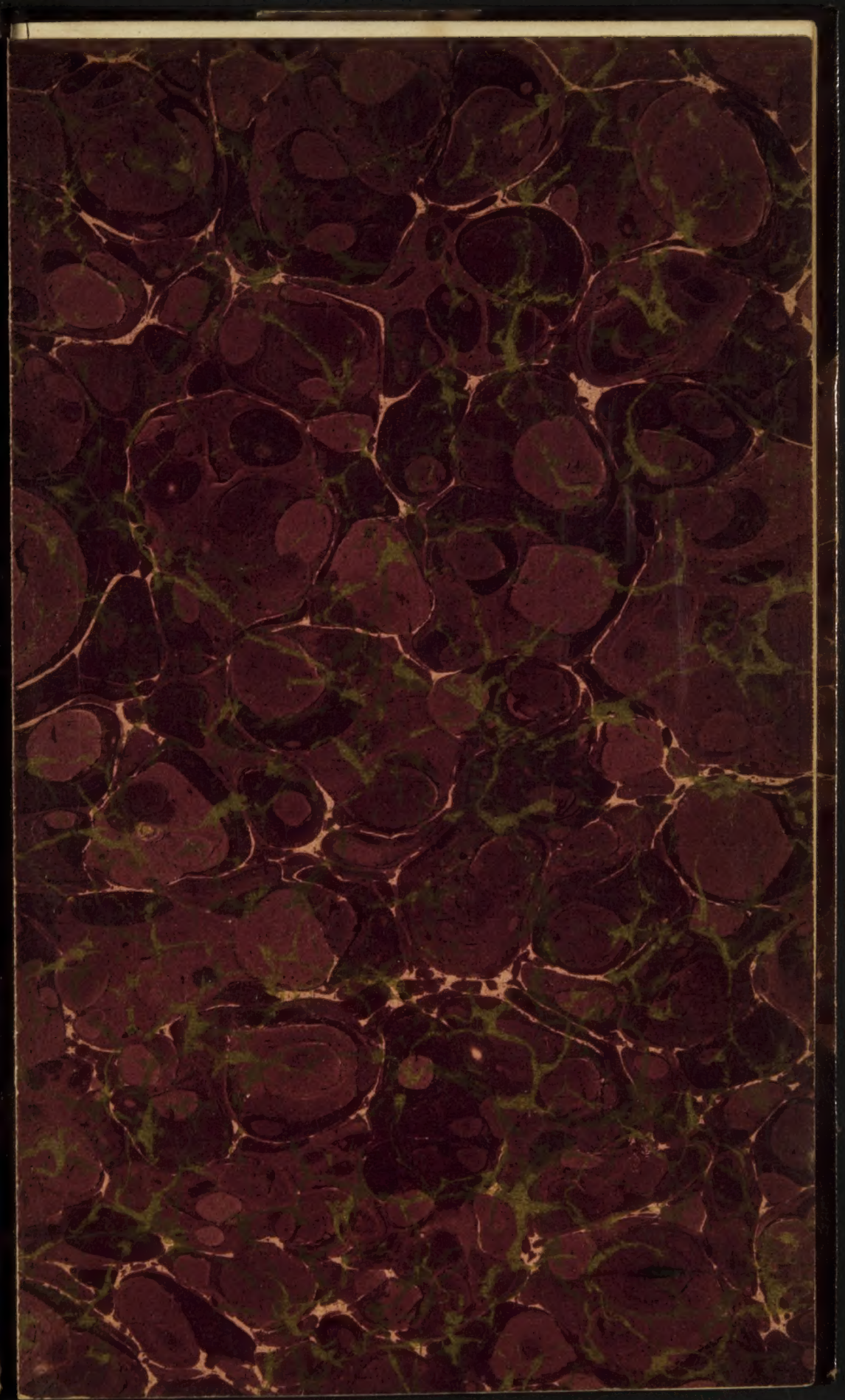
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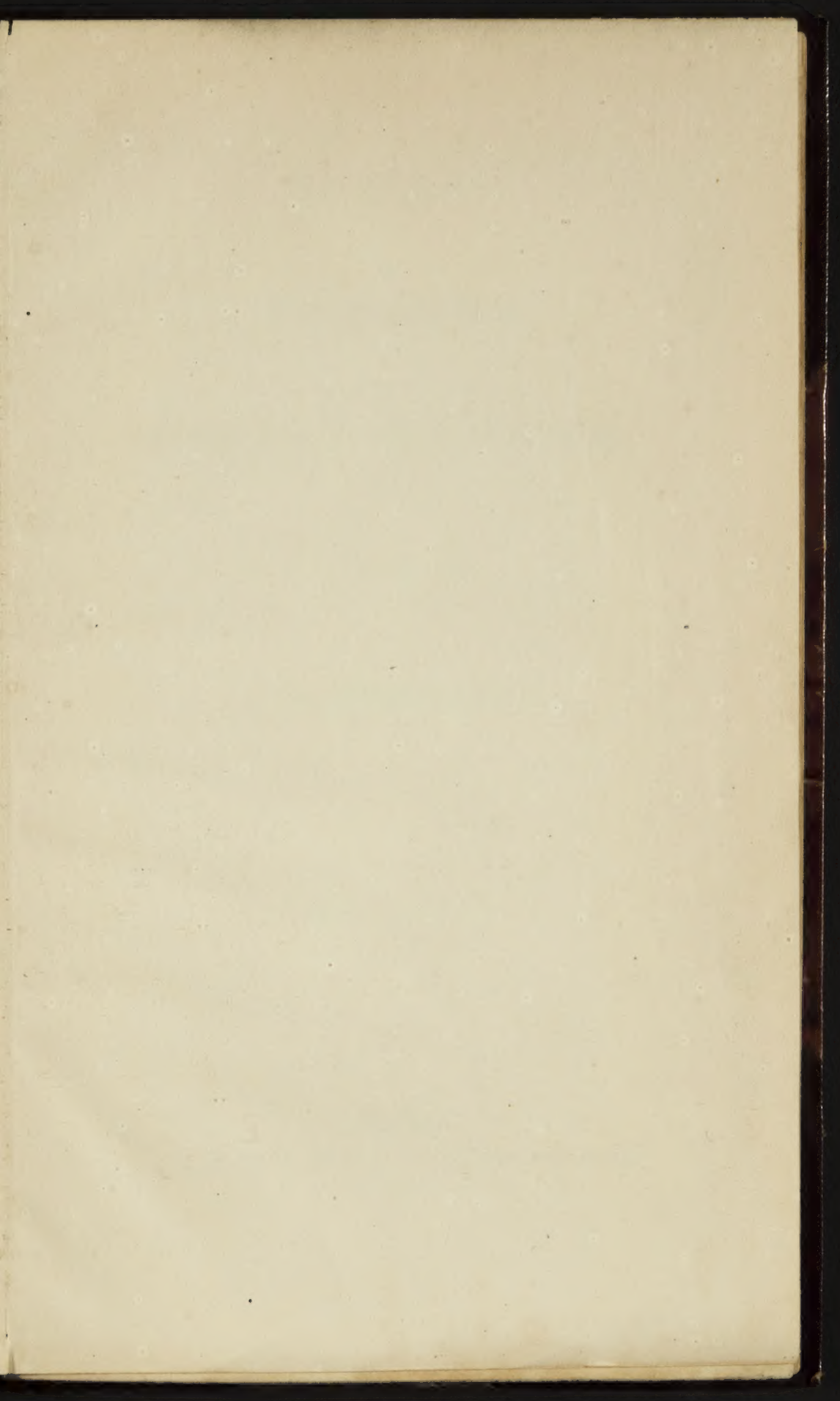
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POCAHONTAS	JOSEPH BRANT	MANGUS
SAMOSET	RED JACKET	COLORADAS
MASSASOIT	LITTLE TURTLE	LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP	TECUMSEH	SITTING BULL
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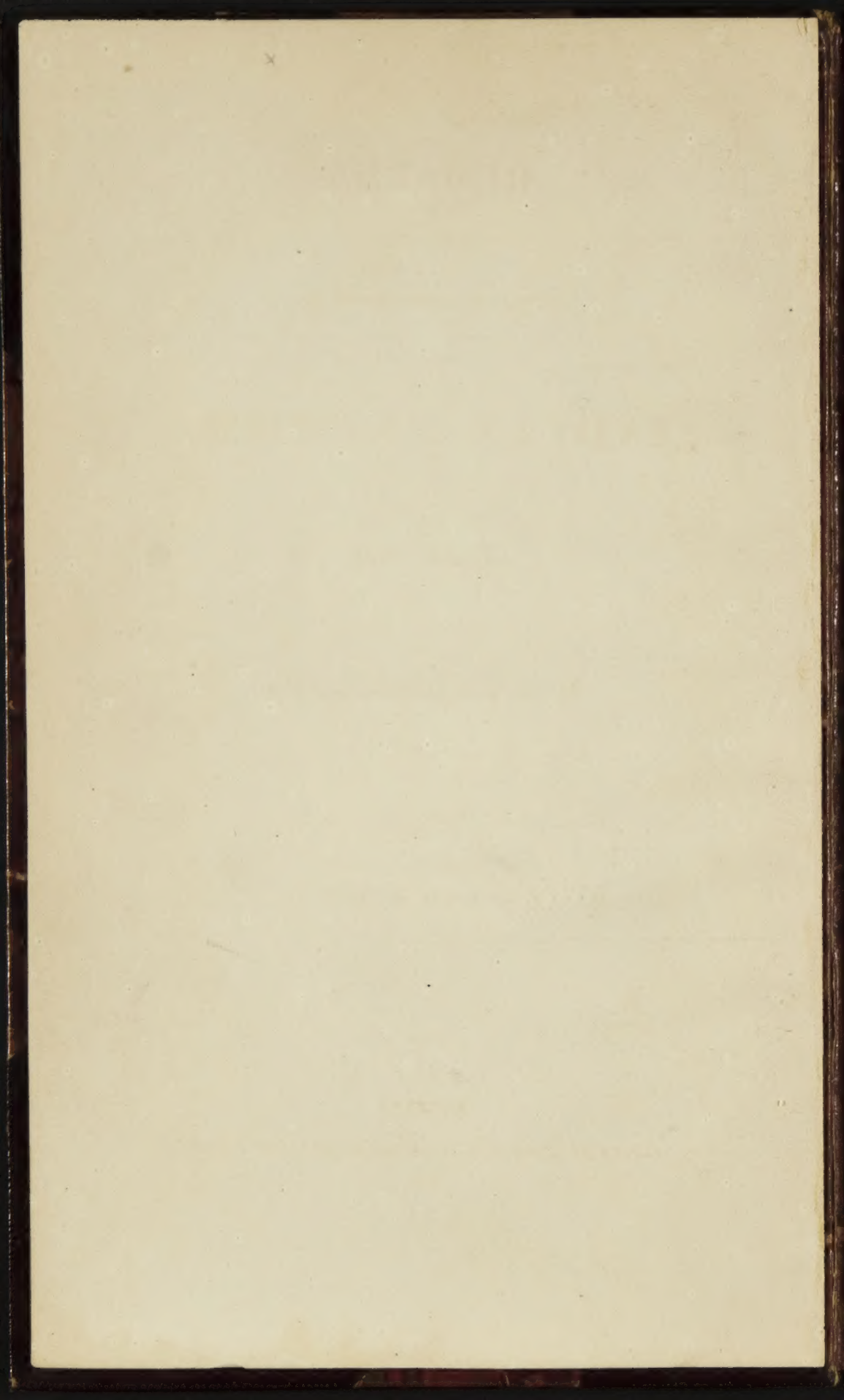


TO PERPETUATE THE HISTORY
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
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REMARKS

ON THE PRACTICABILITY OF

INDIAN REFORM,

EMBRACING THEIR

COLONIZATION.

BY ISAAC M'COY.

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REMARKS.

CHAPTER I.

The principles on which Europeans first met the Aborigines of America followed by ruinous consequences. Their title to the soil proven to be legal. Its legality may be acknowledged without detriment to the United States.

THE design of the following pages is to exhibit the obligation which the people of the United States are under, to meliorate and substantially improve the condition of the Aborigines of our country, together with the means for attaining this most desirable object.

From among the many things which might be said on this subject, I shall endeavour to select a few, which I deem worthy of special notice at this time.

I suppose that the increasing wretchedness of the Indian tribes with whom the Europeans have come in contact ever since their settlement in this country, may be traced to the degradation in which they found them. They were, at that time, sunk to the level of nature, and had ceased to feel the influence of a spirit of improving enterprise. Though in possession of physical means for the elevation of their character, yet they were destitute of mental cultivation.

This fact produced the same effect upon all who discovered, and settled different portions of the country, whether Spaniards, English or French. If some were cruel, and others humane, the difference originated in the feelings each brought with them from their mother country, and not in different views of the national rights of the natives. Neither the one, nor the other, met the Indians as on an equality with themselves. It requires no argument to prove that all agreed in supposing the Indians possessed no legal title to the soil on which they were found, and that they were too destitute of national character to be met on an equality in negotiations. That they had claims on our sympathies, has never been denied by any good man—that they had a legal right, as a nation, to any portion of territory, has never been admitted by any government which has come in contact with them.

Thus low were the Indians sunk, either in fact, or in the estimation of Europeans, on their discovery of America. They did not possess moral ability to elevate themselves, nor have they since been put in possession of that ability by their more fortunate neighbours. Our views, and our prejudices in relation to them, continue their degrada-

tion, and their wretchedness continue ; the latter increasing in proportion to the natural comforts of which the savage state is necessarily deprived by its proximity to that of the civilized, when the loss of the former is not supplied by a transfer from the comforts of the latter.

The continuance of Indian miseries, is no more a matter of surprise, than the continuance of our prejudices in relation to them. The causes not being removed, improvement in their condition ought not to be looked for.

In evidence of the assumption that the legality of Indian title, to territory, has never been admitted by any European government which has claimed possessions in North America, nor by the United States, it is sufficient for our present purpose, to refer

1st. To an opinion expressed in a plea before the Supreme Court of the United States, by one of our first statesmen, who says, "What is the Indian title? It is mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting. It is not like our tenures ; they have no idea of a title to the soil itself. It is overrun by them, rather than inhabited. It is not a true and legal possession. *Vattel*, b. 1. § 81. p. 37. and § 209, b. 2. p. 96. *Montesquieu*, b. 18. c. 12. *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, b. 5. c. 1. It is a right not to be transferred, but extinguished. It is a right regulated by treaties, not by deeds of conveyance. It depends upon the law of nations, not upon municipal right. *Fletcher vs. Peck, Cranch*. Vol. 6. p. 121."*

2d. To the opinions on this subject expressed by the Commissioners at the treaty of Ghent, "The recognition of a boundary gives up to the nation, in whose behalf it was made, all the Indian tribes and countries within that boundary."

3d. To the perfect accordance with the above opinions of all public acts of every nation concerned in the question.

Within the jurisdiction of the United States, it is not admitted that one tribe has a right to convey its nominal claim to another tribe, without the permission of Government of the United States. Treaties held with the Indian tribes for the extinguishment of their title, are viewed by us in the light of praiseworthy "moderation" on the part of our Government, resulting from a desire "of giving ample satisfaction to every pretence of prior right."

Believing that the doctrine which influenced Europeans on their discovery of America, and which has been entailed on us, is unsound, and has ever been a fruitful source of calamities to the natives, and the unnecessary occasion of much perplexity to the United States, I bespeak the reader's indulgence in a brief consideration of it.

What claim to the soil, could the people of the United States, or any other people, prefer to an impartial tribunal, which the natives could not plead with equal, or additional propriety? Speak we of the right of discovery? The Indians are the Aborigines of the country. We have not discovered an uninhabited region, but a peopled country. Let us suppose the Chinese at this day to be ignorant of the country of the United States ; a company of ships arrive at Jamestown, and set up a claim to the whole of the United States territories. Would we read-

* I quote from Morse's Indian Report, Appen. p. 233—4. This I consider appropriate, because these opinions have, through the medium of that Report, recently been called up to the view of the publick.

ily admit that the law of nations made it theirs by the right of discovery?—They take possession; but would we, when retiring before a people of an entirely separate interest from ours, and of superior strength, suppose, that on the great day of retribution, they would be free from all accusations of injustice towards us, and that they would “then appear in the whiteness of innocence?” Prefer your plea, and the Indian adopts it against us with peculiar propriety.

But they are *savages*. The names we have given to the Indians are merely arbitrary, and are made to signify nothing more, than that their manners and customs differ from ours; and, in our estimation, are less desirable. Let us suppose invaders of our rights, setting up the same plea, and our question is answered. We found the natives living in those modes of life which they, as a free people, chose for themselves; and we would be found by our invaders in the exercise of the same liberty. Surely the round of nature cannot furnish an argument to justify the taking away of a people's country, merely because the inhabitants have their peculiar modes of living; when too, these modes of life, which differ from those of other nations, are the result of their own free choice, and have never disturbed the peace of others.

But these are merely *hunters*, “and what is the right of a huntsman to the forest of a thousand miles, over which he has accidentally ranged in quest of prey?”

This is not quite the fact. The Indians are huntsmen; and so have always been, to a certain extent, a large portion of our population on the frontiers of our settlements. The Indians never lived wholly by hunting: and a portion of subsistence of white settlers, as above, has almost invariably been taken by the chase. But nobody ever thought that this circumstance affected the legality of their titles to land.

It is not true that the Indians were merely “huntsmen, accidentally passing over forests of a thousand miles.” They were people at home, and furnishing imperishable monuments of the antiquity of their residence. Here they had lived longer than the existence of the oaks in whose shades they reclined—from time immemorial.

Their country was divided among the several tribes; and if the bounds of each was not fixed with an exactitude, equal to that which marks the boundaries of our several States and Territories; yet, it was with a precision which they deemed sufficient, and which we admit, met the exigencies of their situation, equally as well as our lines meet the circumstances of ours. War among themselves, whether on account of disputed territory, or of some other thing, was nothing new in the history of nations. It would become us to feel for their misfortunes; but not on account thereof, to frame a pretext for possessing ourselves of their country. What law of nations has prescribed the amount of land, a people must cultivate in proportion to each individual; the portion of food they must take from the waters, or the woods; and the distances they may, and may not travel in pursuit of their occupations, in order to render them eligible to the possession of territory, and to national character?

We have been told, that “the pilgrims of Plymouth obtained their right of possession to the territory on which they settled, by titles as fair and unquestionable, as any human property can be held. They received their charter from their British Sovereign. The spot on which they fixed had belonged to an Indian tribe, totally extirpated,

by that devouring pestilence which had swept the country before their arrival. The country thus free from all exclusive possessions, they might have taken by the *natural right* of occupancy.”*

Now, does it not seem strange that this should be the only instance since the world was made, in which a tribe of people had been “totally extirpated” by a devouring pestilence? Is it not astonishing, that no entire tribe of Indians has been destroyed; that no state in the Union has been wholly depopulated, by that devouring pestilence, since the landing of the pilgrims?

But let this nameless disease, or the yellow fever, if you please, destroy some, and drive back others, until the inhabitants shall all have left the District of Columbia. Then another company from England may land in that place, and set up their claims to the district, by “the natural right of occupancy.” Such a supposed reversion of fortune, furnishes its own comment.

They received their Charter from their sovereign. And what right, pray, had their sovereign to charter away the lands of other people, without their consent? In that day if the land could be called by an Englishman “remote,” and its inhabitants “heathen and barbarous,” a sufficient pretext was found for dispossessing the rightful owners, and for giving it to others. It is on these grounds that we hold our “fair and unquestionable titles” to the country. To what a pitch of vainness must men have arrived, when they could fit out ships and men to take possession of an entire country, regardless of the rights of the Aborigines, and then teach their children to laud the innocence of such a transaction!

As an apology for our conduct, we have been told that these were “erratic nations,” incapable by the smallness of their numbers, of peopling the whole country.” Now I would ask for some evidence of this fact. Where is the nation, or tribe, that is erratic in a national capacity? Precisely the reverse is the fact. It is well known that each tribe is peculiarly attached to its own district; and few individuals are found who do not cling to the land of their ancestors, and hover over their tombs, until forced to retire by means not to be resisted. Let us be pointed to one single tribe that was, or is erratic, and so much of the matter at issue shall be conceded. But it is fearlessly asserted that no such tribe has ever been known to exist on our continent.

That the Indians have emigrated from one country to another, is not denied; but it was not because they were *wandering* tribes, which never sought or possessed a permanent residence. The Delawares, for instance, who resided many years in what is now the State of Indiana, once inhabited around the Delaware bay, and at this time, most of them are west of Mississippi river. But the reasons for their exchanges of country, are too well known, to allow us to denominate them a *wandering* nation.

Indians have, in some instances, migrated from one section of country to another, from causes which existed wholly among themselves; and we have done the same. Each tribe traverses at pleasure its own district, as the business of individuals requires, and we are habitually

* It is not a want of respect for the venerable pilgrims of Plymouth, that induces me to mention them particularly; but it is because the sayings to which I am replying, have lately come before the publick, and therefore claim particular attention.

pursuing a similar course of conduct. Individual Indians, or deputed companies, occasionally pass into the territories of a tribe to which they do not belong, and by common consent, attend to their private business, or to the business of their tribe. So, also, among us, the people of one State, are ordinarily, in the prosecution of their business, passing through the territories of others.

We are told that "the Indians claim too much territory for their numbers—they are too thinly scattered over the country: Europeans have not, therefore, deviated from the views of nature in confining them within narrow limits." Precisely the same thing might be urged against us by Chinese invaders. It is well known that the States and Territories in the Union, which are at this time partially settled, would contain with convenience, and with increased convenience too, more than five times the number at present inhabiting them. Our Chinese invaders might plead against us our own arguments, that the proportion of inhabitants sustained in their country, was more than tenfold greater than that in ours, and, therefore, they "would not deviate from the views of nature in confining us within narrower limits."

Again it has been asserted that "the Indians have no idea of a title to the soil itself." This is an assumption without the shadow of reason; indeed, it is at variance with the recurrence of positive and well known facts. It is the misfortune of the Indian that he is incapable of recording on parchment his views of this subject, or of publishing them to the world, and pleading his own cause. But ask the Commissioners of the United States, who have encountered so many difficulties in negotiating with the natives for cessions of their lands, and they will tell you, that the assumption is untenable. Look to the whole course of Indian conduct relative to the case, ever since the settlement of whites on the continent, and an united voice, as of many waters, will tell you. Or, visit the Indians in their tents, and they will tell you themselves, and that too, in expressions of grief and despair, that, unless your heart be cased in adamant, will make you both sigh and weep. Indians are actually sitting by me while I pen this paragraph: I cannot be mistaken.

May I not, without fear of contradiction, assert that no claim to any portion of the United States' Territories, can be preferred, which will not apply in favour of the Aborigines. Since it is not true, that their title is "mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting," as we have been told, but that this has been their home for ages, beyond the stretch of mortal research, may I not say that their claims are, in many respects, superior to ours, and sustained by all the rules of justice by which the claims of individuals, States, and Nations, are supported?

In defence of the conduct of England and the United States, we will not plead their superior strength over that of the natives, because such a plea would be too shocking to the well known humanity of those nations. What then, may we ask, has been the cause of a departure from the common usage of civilized nations in regard to the Indians, but their ignorance and degradation?

But, in the matter of Indian reform, we must take things as we find them. We cannot now retrace the steps of two hundred years. And further, the policy of which we complain did not originate with the United States; it was commenced prior to the existence of the Union. It has been entailed on us, rather than adopted by us. Such is the wisdom with which our government is constructed, that a happy tone

of feeling has, in many honourable instances, softened the severity of maxims, to which despotic governments gave birth.

I shall omit a recital of those considerations which are designed more especially to awaken our sympathies, and content myself by simply stating the undeniable fact, that on our borders and within our settlements, thousands of these wretched people still exist. This fact forces upon us the inquiry, What ought to be done with them, all things considered? They are evidently incapable of taking care of themselves. This incapacity, however, can no more affect their just rights, than a fever, which would incapacitate one of our citizens for business, would affect his. Found within the defined limits of the United States, it becomes our Government to assume their guardianship. This, it will be said, has been done. True; but has it not been done at the expense of all Indian rights?

By our Government we find provision made for minors and invalids. It would be affecting cruelty to deprive such of their just rights, to deny the legality of their claims to land, and doom them and their posterity to poverty and degradation; to do more—to forbid them by law, and common prejudices, to hope for equal privileges with the more fortunate.

Assuming the guardianship of the Indians, and at the same time admitting the legality of their claims to territory, would no more entitle them to privileges among us which they could not judiciously exercise, than the laws of a State, providing for minors and guarding their property, entitle them to an active voice in the affairs of government.

It has been thought that by admitting the legality of Indian title to soil, we should concede to them the entire right to convey the same as they might choose, to foreigners, or to individuals of our own nation, who would take advantage of Indian ignorance to their immediate ruin, and to the great disadvantage of the United States.

But these conclusions do not necessarily follow the premises laid down. A boy of ten years old might be induced to sell his patrimony for a whistle. The state is at no loss to provide against such trifling. It assumes the management of the property of the minor. Why? Because the minor is incapable of managing it himself. In this assumption, the *capacity* only of the minor is denied, not his rights. The legality of his claim is *not* predicated upon the supposition that he is to become an active citizen, but upon the *justice* of the case. For, if the minor should de cease, the same law which secured the property to him, points to the next legal claimant, though he also be a minor.

I cannot apprehend danger to my doctrine, from the mere circumstance, that in one case the supposition rests upon a descendant of a citizen of the United States; and, in the other, upon one whose ancestors have never been acknowledged as such. We are speaking of things as they at this time exist. We have marked off the boundaries of the United States, and have said, that "the recognition of a boundary gives up to the nation, in whose behalf it was made, all the Indian tribes and countries within that boundary." We have already said, that they belonged to us; therefore they come properly within the spirit of the case, stated in relation to minors.

Further, our civil institutions do positively secure the rights of aliens within our territories. They are allowed to hold property in fee. Our laws secure to them their right in property while they live, and in case of de cease, the same descends securely to their heirs.

Is it argued that minors are properly within the reach of our laws? So are the Indians. Our laws extend to the Indians, just as far as we choose to have them. We do not impose on them taxes, nor any portion of the burden of our civil, or military institutions. This is so far merely a remuneration for the denial to them of privileges granted to other foreigners. Indians are committed to our state prisons for felony, and have been regularly proceeded against, in cases of murder, convicted and hung. It cannot be denied, that the Indians are really cognizable by our laws, which are made to affect them just so far as, in the wisdom of our Government, the subject requires; and this is the case in relation to minors.

In the present state of things, I cannot conceive any reason why our Government may not exercise over them the necessary guardianship, and still allow the legality of their claims to the lands owned by the tribes severally. Nor do I discover that in admitting this, we necessarily concede any principle to our disadvantage. That portion of their lands which our convenience requires us to possess, will be placed no farther out of our reach than it is at present. When, in the construction of publick works, the lands of minors are found so situated as to render it necessary for government to interpose, they know how to meet the exigency. The land is taken, and in lieu thereof, a fair price secured to the proper owner.

If the Cherokees whom we may properly denominate a civilized people, and other tribes in the South, who are following in the career of improvement, have become capable of understanding their just rights, and their best interests, and of defending them, not by arms, but by argument, should form a resolution *not to part* with their lands, the circumstance would be no more vexatious to us did we admit their municipal right. Force is not to be used in this case. Whether this forbearance in our Government arises out of the questionableness of the tenure by which we claim, or out of the pledges which, in our "moderation," we have given those tribes, or from both, matters not; all righteous men agree that their lands cannot be forced from them.

Moreover, I hope to be able to show that difficulties, in relation to any of our north-western tribes, similar to those which have recently occurred with some of the southern, may easily and certainly be prevented; and that by admitting the legality of Indian title to their several territories, we shall place ourselves in full view, and within convenient reach, of all the means necessary to be employed in the case.



CHAP. II.

The Character and Condition of the Indians.

It is remarkable that with the opportunities of more than two centuries, to become acquainted with the Aborigines of our country, their character and condition should at all times have been so imperfectly understood by us. It is thought by some, whose judgments are doubtless entitled to great respect, that no other branch of publick business is so little understood, as that which relates to Indians. So little is known even by the benevolent Societies, which have been formed for their relief, that missionaries who labour among the na-

tives, usually find far more trouble in managing the mistaken notions of their patrons, than they do in encountering those of the people of their charge. Without pretensions to any remarkable discoveries on this subject, I ask leave to state a few, of many things, relative to their character and condition, which my long residence in their country has afforded me an opportunity of observing.

I have supposed that Indian calamities, as they now exist, originated in their degradation, and have until this time been cherished by the same general cause. This is not a solitary case; the condition of the wretched Africans is fully in point, and strikingly illustrative of the position we have taken. No one will venture to say that the African is enslaved because of the blackness of his skin; neither can any man of sober mind, suppose the thing in itself to accord with the laws of justice between man and man. The fact is, Africa, that portion at least of which we speak, is too destitute of national character, to command respect, and therefore, in the usage of other nations, its natives cease to be treated as human beings entitled to common rights.

Her oppression is not for want of physical strength to contend with other nations. Nor is she the only nation incompetent to withstand the power of her neighbours; and yet the people of those weaker nations are not shipped by thousands for slave markets. Whatever Africa may suffer, she is incapable of *complaining*. Raise her in point of talent even with Portugal, and our slave ships might as well go to Ireland to lade, as to Guinea.

Men as they come into existence are pretty much on an equality. Whether we find the infant in the bark wigwam, or in the lordly palace, it is subsequently that he is to be made the savage or the sage. For it is not a question at all, whether the mental faculties of Indians generally, are equal to those of their more fortunate neighbours. The fact is universally admitted. But with them, there being a total absence of the thousand means which operate to produce refinement of society, they continue unimproved through every stage of life. They are children of nature merely, from the infant lashed to the board, to the wrinkled father who bends over the tomb.

At first sight of Indians by Europeans, there became fixed in the latter a consciousness of superiority, which still exists, and is evinced in all our conduct in relation to them. We never meet an Indian on a level, as we meet a white man; we always look *down* upon him.

This self complaisance may, in no small measure, be traced to the odium entailed on them by Europeans, and which, unfortunately, has not been removed by our better Government. They have neither been allowed the privileges granted to other foreigners, nor the protection granted to every citizen of the United States. Even the inhabitant of a cell in a States' prison retains inviolable his right in property—his posterity are not forbidden to aspire above the evils sustained by the imprudences of an unprincipled father. But of the Indian we say, he has no legal title to the soil. In this respect he is virtually placed beneath the condition of the most degraded of our own citizens. Were they allowed the rights of others, the feelings of our community generally, might become such as we exercise towards other poor people, but it seems impossible in the nature of things that the prejudices of society, so destructive to them, can subside, so long as the principle exists which confirms their degradation. Like Cain, they are driven out from the face of the earth, and are become fugi-

tives and vagabonds in it, and *every one* who finds them, heaps upon them miseries according to the spirit of the times.

Few, even of those who declare themselves to be devoutly in favour of Indian reform, are aware of the extent of Indian degradation ; I mean, the distance beneath us, at which our feelings place them—or, of the extent of the affecting consequences. Of the latter, we may judge by the facts, that since our settlement in the country, several tribes have become totally extinct ; while to others is left a remnant, languishing under evils, which menace the existence of the whole Indian population.

I attempt no exaggeration. My subject needs not the aid of painting. Facts, stubborn facts, immoveable as mountains, can be produced.

Before we proceed further, it is proper to observe, that there are many, very many, abuses of power, of office, and of granted license, in our intercourse with the Indians, which have never been fairly exhibited to the publick ; abuses, with which our Government is in no way chargeable : of which it is formally, and in most instances, totally unacquainted ; and which I shall not attempt to expose. My object is not to attach blame to any individual, or to any particular class of men among us. For, were errors of this kind to be corrected, which indeed is desirable enough, still no more would be done, than the lopping off of some of the exterior branches, while the main body and roots would remain in full vigour. The axe must be applied to the root of the tree. From the days of Elliot down to the present time, it seems the misfortune of the business of Indian reform, has been applying emollients to the surface of the sore, in the hope that they would ultimately succeed, instead of probing the wound to the bottom. There is something among us, not among the Indians, radically wrong in this business : this wrong *must* be righted, or the Indians must be ruined, and Christians reproached.

I would ask those sorrowful hearts, which express astonishment that the Indians on our north western boundaries, should continue so long in this fertile, fine country, to suffer, pine, and perish ; if they suppose any other race of human beings would do otherwise, under similar circumstances ? Our children are forced up the elevation of improvement by artificial operations of a thousand kinds ; but this machinery is not brought to bear in like manner on the improvement of the Indians. With all the pains taken to smooth our sons of nature, too many of them at last remain crooked and rough. No wonder then, if in the absence of vital principles, the experiment of Indian reform should disappoint our hope.

You have your missionaries at Gayhead, Stockbridge, Brothertown, Oneida, among the Tuscaroras, Tonawantas, Senecas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Puttawatomies, Miamies, &c. but the most that they can do in the present posture of affairs, is to soften, as it were, the pillows of the dying. They have been instrumental in benefiting a few ; nevertheless, in a national capacity, all those tribes, as well as others near at hand, west of Lake Michigan, and west of Mississippi river, continue to dwindle—they are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly.

Through the instrumentality of your missionaries, some of the natives, no doubt, have become pious, and have gone, or will go, to a better country in the heavens, where their condition will be ordered by principles very different from those which fated their miserable existence upon earth. A few have acquired some knowledge of letters,

and of labour ; so far this is well. But let none imagine that these tribes, and many others, are, as tribes, improving their condition generally. I say it, without fear of contradiction, that their condition is becoming more and more miserable every year—I repeat it—they are positively perishing.

How can it be otherwise! What is there to induce a love of life, or to stimulate to good action, with an Indian? Whether the reflection be just or not, he views himself completely at the disposal of a people who have taken from him his country ; I do not say his hunting ground, I say his *home*, where sleep his fathers back to unknown generations; a people who declare that he never had a legal right to the soil. In addition to this, he finds that no man treats him as an equal. The very manner of salutation to an Indian, and the mode of conversation with him, remind him that he is considered as an inferior.

You point your children to examples of respectability in civil society, and exhort them to walk in their footsteps, in the confident expectation of possessing that character which is rather to be chosen than gold and silver—than “precious ointment.” The Indian, in view of the same example, could only say, “My son, that is what the world calls a respectable, honorable man, but it is impossible for you ever to arrive at similar honors.” Thus from childhood the innate passion for fame, essential to human greatness, when kept within the influence of meekness and prudence, is stifled by every thing which surrounds it.

But one will say, Why do not the Indians adopt habits of industry ; and the circumstance itself of the acquisition of property would operate powerfully to conquer the prejudices of their white neighbours, and might enable them to take hold on all the means essential to their greatness?

All this is true ; but where is the spot on the continent upon which it could be expected that they would feel encouraged to labour? They are at best only tenants at the will of our Government. Where is the place on which they can erect houses in the hope of inhabiting them, and make fields in the expectation of being allowed to cultivate them? They can call no place on earth *their own*, and therefore it is not astonishing that they should generally be disinclined to habits of industry. The tribes under consideration, that is, all within our settlements, and around our frontiers, except the southern Indians east of Mississippi, and the Cherokees west of that river, have no assurance of undisturbed possession of any spot. If we ought to make an exception, it would relate to the little patches in New York and the New England States; and these, whatever may be their liberties to remain, are so situated as to be exposed to destroying evils by which their numbers are diminished much more rapidly than if they were out side of us, where they would be allowed room to run, as the whites approached them.

I said a while ago, that among us, not among the Indians, there was something radically wrong in relation to that wretched people of whom we speak. In evidence of this assertion, I appeal to the fact that the condition of the Indians becomes more and more deplorable, as the whites approach nearer to them. Those who are pent up by the whites on small reservations in New England, New York, and Ohio, decline more rapidly in proportion to their numbers, than the tribes farther west, on the frontiers of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois ; and the decline of these latter is more rapid in proportion than those still more remote. Let it still be borne in mind, that wherever we discover a decrease of numbers, we see an increase of calamities. The in-

crease of misery is not chiefly on account of the wild game being chased away by the sound of the white man's axe, as has sometimes been supposed. For were there not greater evils to which they are subjected; were they permanently settled, untouched by any morbid atmosphere emanating from us, they would naturally enlarge the field as the wild game decreased.

Numerous are the evils resulting to these people from the approach of the whites, (a poor commendation indeed of a christian nation) but perhaps all these evils may be traced to the same general cause, the mark of infamy fixed upon them by the whites. As to commerce, they are not approached as men entitled to just dealings, but are considered as fair game for every sharper. It is true, Government has made laws regulating Indian trade. But the trade is not carried on in Washington city, where the President of the United States can daily look into it. It is carried on in the Indian country, extending into the forest a thousand miles from our settlements. It is not possible for Government to guard the rights of the Indians in such situations; even in the little property they acquire in peltries and fur. Those generally, who are employed as clerks, &c. and sent into the Indian country with goods, are not remarkable for scruples of conscience. Our chief hopes, therefore, that justice in dealing will be done to the Indians, arises from competition in trade. We have not so much cause to complain of *prices* as nominally fixed, as we have of impositions practised upon the Indians, for which they can obtain no possible redress.

The example of unprincipled white men among the natives, is extremely pernicious, and tends greatly to debase their minds. But the destroying effects of ardent spirits among them, *is horrid in the extreme*. Whiskey, they find all over their country, but find it more plentifully as they are situated nearer to the white settlements.

In these latter cases mentioned, our Government is not at all blameable, only as it has rendered the Indians radically ignominious. It has made laws forbidding the introduction of ardent spirits into their country; but it has not power, in the present posture of affairs, to enforce their observance. The evils of intemperance have not been perceivably lessened by all the laws made to repress it. It is a lamentable truth, that the evil increases annually, and occasions a fearful waste of human life; as a specimen, take the following. In the fall and winter of 1825—6, in the neighbourhood of the Carey Missionary Station, near Lake Michigan, twenty-five Indians were either directly murdered by the hands of their own people, or otherwise lost their lives by drunkenness.

Besides this, there is a mass of misery, indescribable in its character, resulting from this same source; such as the destruction of health, aggravated poverty, distresses of hundreds of half starved children, &c. Missionaries, who, after much labour by precept and example, have kindled up a little spirit of improvement among the people of their charge, have, again and again, had the mortification to see the same almost entirely extinguished, by this irresistible evil. Under all the destructive, discouraging obstacles, arising from intoxication, and from numerous other sources, it is astonishing that missionaries should be able to collect schools, and to secure a tolerable attendance, and in other respects, to really improve the condition of a few.

Friends to the natives are apt to solace themselves, with the reflection that the days of war and bloodshed, between the United States and the Indians are past—all is now peace. The Indians may pursue their modes of living without the wastings and woes of war. But will you believe me, if I say, that the Indians generally are more miserable, and that they waste away faster, when at peace with us, than when at war? I presume there is no doubt of this fact with any one, who has an opportunity of discovering the process of Indian affairs among themselves. The truth is, the hope of bettering their condition for the present, for they cannot see far off, is a prominent consideration with them, in inducing hostilities.

Our Government has always granted to the Indians peace, whenever they asked for it. Therefore, if at any time they believed their condition to be the worse for war with us, they knew that they could make the exchange for peace. In time of war, they and we are necessarily separated; and on this account the cankerous evils which result to them from coming into direct contact with us, are avoided.

I took the liberty, not long since, of suggesting that the condition of those small bands who are on little reservations in New England, New York, and Ohio, surrounded by white population, is worse than that of those who have more latitude on our frontier. To this remark I suppose we ought to except something in respect to eating and wearing.

I presume those small bands live more plentifully for food and raiment than do the others. But I have no hesitation in repeating that their numbers decrease faster than those of the other tribes, and that they are more debased in principle, and positively more worthless, than those with whom I am comparing them. This sentiment is the result of my own personal observation, as well as of the concurrent testimony of the most authentic information.

Man is formed for society. The seclusion of the hermit is a departure from the directions of nature. Society we *must* have, and if we cannot be allowed that which is good, we must mingle with that which is worse. The society which Indians generally find among the whites, is that of the most degraded and worthless kind; and those who are pent up by the whites, feel the effect of this principle most sensibly. Even the good men, who surround and pity them, do not take them into their society as they would so many whites, under similar circumstances. Doomed, therefore, to mingle with their own corrupt selves, and the very filth of civilized society, from infancy to old age, and from generation to generation, they grow worse and worse.

What, let me ask the reader, could you hope for from your own sons and daughters, were they destined to be brought up in similar circumstances? What can be more deplorable than the condition of this scattered, pealed, and perishing people! When parents improve the passing moments around the cheerful fireside, in encouraging counsel to their hopeful sons and daughters, well fed and warm, let them not forget the thousands of families in the wilderness, each couched around a little fire, half-starved, half-naked, and homeless.

You are directing your children to habits of industry, by which they may secure a competency of the blessings of nature. They are to have fields and houses, shops and ships. To them are explained the

comforts of virtue, and the pleasures of good society. To their view are held up the offices of trust, honour, and profit, in the most happy and flourishing government, that ever existed. Now, you say, my sons and my daughters, with us there are no *privileged orders*. God and nature hold out to you these incentives to virtue, greatness, and happiness; over which is inscribed in golden capitals, "Whosoever will, let him take of them freely." Listen now, I entreat you to the language of you Indian father and mother, to their sons and their daughters. "Children, you see and feel our wretchedness this stormy night. You have no prospect before you, but that of increasing calamities. Our situation is more lamentable than was that of our father and mother, and yours is destined to be still more dreadful; and every generation of us, is doomed to sink deeper, and deeper, and deeper, in woes, until the last of our tribe sinks into the depths of oblivion. We are melting away before a people of superior wisdom and strength; who, with lordly looks, are striding over the lands on which have dwelt our fathers back to unknown ages, declaring us ineligible to a participation with them in the blessings of the world which they so plentifully enjoy!"

What can we expect of a people under such circumstances, but that they give up all for lost, and like too many among us, who only fancy themselves in desperate circumstances, abandon themselves to drunkenness, and to every abomination? We do not pretend that all their poverty and sins have grown out of the circumstance of our becoming their neighbours. They were poor and wicked when we first beheld them. But we say, that their depravity and sufferings have been increased by our proximity to them, and their hopes cut off by our policy. They are too deeply sunk in the mire, to be able to extricate themselves. It therefore rests with us to say, whether they shall be left to perish, or whether they can be, and shall be, "taken out of the horrible pit, and miry clay, and set upon a rock, and their goings established," or rather, they established in a home which they can call *their own*.

It has been greatly the misfortune of Indians that their white neighbours have generally supposed them to be inflexibly attached to their huntings, and other wild customs.

To admit that Indians are attached to the modes of life to which they have been accustomed, and to their religious ceremonies, is saying nothing more than that they are human beings; for such is the case with all people. But there is scarcely a heathen nation upon earth, of which we might not, with more propriety, suppose that such attachments were inflexible. The Aborigines were never, since we became acquainted with them, worshippers of Idols. We all know that there exist among them religious ceremonies, which are taught by parents to children; but they have no ecclesiastical idolatrous establishments, like the Chinese, Burmese, or Hindoos. The Indians believe in the existence of God—the Great Spirit, and of other Good Spirits. They believe in the existence of evil spirits; among whom they suppose one, who deserves to be styled, the "very bad spirit."

These notions of God, and of his superintending providence, have had a tendency to ennoble their minds, as well as their acts, and to render them superior to most heathen nations in point of liberal

views.* Indeed, I think that, in a comparison of religious views with the Indians, some refined people in christendom ought to blush at their own bigotted attachments. I suppose the natives have always been in the habit of killing witches; but I very much question if ever there was a man upon the continent chased out of his country, imprisoned, or whipped, for his religion, before the settlement of the whites in it.

We admit, that with all its hardships, there is something fascinating in the life of the hunter; the white man on our frontiers feels it. Yet it is certain that the attachment of the Indians to a hunter's life is not so obstinate but that they will voluntarily exchange it for a better, whenever they become situated where the love of life, and the hope of enjoyment, can be cherished in their bosoms. This has been the case with the Cherokees, and some others to the south who have adopted habits of civilized life.

It was not merely the diminution of the wild game which induced those southern Indians to abandon the chase, for hundreds of them are now decently farming on the west side of the Mississippi, contiguous to good hunting grounds. They have adopted civilized habits because of their superior advantages to the hunter state. These people have readily enough relinquished attachments to Indian habits, not because their prejudices were originally less obstinate than those of other tribes, but because they happened to be situated where their hopes of enjoying the fruits of their labours were more encouraging than those of their more unfortunate northern brethren.

To the concurrent testimony of all who are engaged in the labour of Indian reform, I add my own unqualified assertion, resulting from an experience of more than nine years actual residence in the Indian country, that there exists among our Indians no attachment to any pernicious manners or customs, that will not yield to sound argument, righteous example, and the offer of a better condition. I suppose that no heathen nation on the earth can be found, so easily accessible to all the customs which render civilized life blessed, and to the doctrines of the gospel, which guide to heaven, as the American Indians were, when Europeans first became acquainted with them. The entire absence of idolatry, of established forms of religion, to which all *must bend*, and their ideas of the existence of God, and I will add, of the sources of good and evil, threw the door of access to them wide open. Had they not at that time been trampled under our feet—had they been approached as *men*, entitled to meet their fellow men upon equitable terms—had they been greeted with the charities of our holy religion, our better things would have been received by them with open arms, and every tribe would have called us blessed.

In our northern districts, attempts were made in very early times, by worthy men, to reform the Aborigines. While we are happy in the opinion that no effort for the christianizing of the Indians, was

*If the Osages, as we have been lately told by some worthy, but, as I suppose, mistaken men, do not believe in the existence of the Great Spirit, and kindred doctrines, if they are worshippers of the sun, the earth, &c. the fact is an anomaly in the history of Indian character and manners.

An inquirer seldom has the good fortune to understand the Indian's language, his modes of thinking, or his notions of decorum. The Indian generally hears questions as the result of mischievous design, of impertinence, or of stupidity. Against the first he cautiously guards, the second he insults, and with the last he sports. Hence his answers are usually insincere.

wholly unsuccessful, we must deeply regret, what we now distinctly perceive, that those well-meant labours were performed under all the disadvantages of blind European prejudices in relation to the Indians. Those pious hearts had too recently been transplanted from the sterile plains of religious bigotry, to expand with liberal views of the character, and of the just rights of man.

Missionaries in these days are enabled to profit by the days that are past. But now they find the prejudices of the natives exceedingly obstinate ; they have been matured by more than two hundred years, and cherished by a thousand considerations, each of which has annually grown heavier and heavier : after all, let it be borne in mind, that it is not inflexible attachment to the hunter state, or to other rude habits, or ceremonies, of which missionaries complain. It is a want of confidence in the purity of our motives. The Indians feel themselves forsaken and friendless. The proffered hand of friendship has, a thousand times, proved a snare, and the voice of kindness been deceptive.

With what spirit remains to them from the ravages of dissipation and despair, they feel towards us, as we would feel towards invaders of our country and rights, who were fattened with plenitude, and basking in affluence, on the fields of our fathers, while we with our ragged, half-starved offspring, stood soliciting the elm to lend us his coat to shelter us from the snow.

But convince the Indians that you are true men, and not spies, that though they had thought the Great Spirit deaf to their groans, and all men had risen up against them, yet he does pity, they have some sincere friends, and they will leap for joy. Yes, I have seen them under such circumstances melted into tears. I have seen that their confidence swelled to extremes, and in their enthusiasm they were ready to deem the missionary more than an ordinary man.

Indians are not untameable. Give them a country as their own, under circumstances which will enable them to feel their importance, where they can hope to enjoy, unmolested, the fruits of their labours, and their national recovery need not be doubted. But, let the policy of our Government in relation to the Indians, continue as it has been, and as it now is, and, with the exception of the Cherokees, I know of no tribe, nor part of a tribe, no, not one, within, or near to all the frontiers of Arkansaw, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, or Ohio, nor one of those bands on small reservations in New-York or New-England, of whom we can indulge any better hope than that of their total extermination.

I fear the publick are not fully aware of this fact, especially the christian publick, who would more especially shudder at the thought, and who have been hoping for better things. I fear, too, that missionaries are sometimes afraid to tell the worst of this part of the story, lest the benevolent societies and individuals at a distance, who patronize the missions, would become discouraged, and would decline the prosecution of the undertaking. I know that there cannot exist with the many sinister motive to such a forbearance, because their labours, the labours of their whole lives, are gratuitously given to this enterprise. But, they have been eye-witnesses of Indian wickedness and sufferings. They have heard fathers begging them to have mercy on them and their offspring, and entreating them not to forsake them ; they have seen the mother digging roots for her children, and have beheld the emaciated frames of those who, in winter, had lived weeks upon acorns only, or who, in summer, had fed for days upon boiled weeds

alone. They have heard the cries of children suffering with hunger, and seen the frozen limbs of the half-naked sufferer. Among these wretched people they have formed congregations, which delight to hear of "a better country," and with which they unite in prayer and praise. They have collected scores of lovely children into their schools and families, who are taught to call them fathers and mothers, and to look to them as their best friends, without whose help they are undone. They have heard some of these children in secret prayer, covered with the mantle of night, upon their knees, imploring the Lord God Almighty, to reward the kindness of their benefactors, to continue his mercies to themselves, and to pity their less favoured, their suffering kindred. Under these, and kindred considerations, missionaries dare not indulge a thought of forsaking the people of their charge. For them they will labour, in their sorrows they will sympathise, and among their tombs they will be buried. It is possible that, under the influence of such zeal for the temporal and eternal welfare of the Indians, missionaries may fear to tell what they think might be heard with discouragement by the patrons of missions. These are the reasons for the omission, if they have not fully advertized the publick, that the tribes to which I have just referred, are perishing—are perishing. If there is any missionary among the tribes under consideration, who can say otherwise of the people of his charge, let him publish the fact, and I will rejoice that I have been mistaken, and I will join him in hosannas to the Son of David.

A brief recapitulation of the foregoing, furnishes us with the following summary:—Europeans brought with them to this country undue prejudices against the Aborigines; they viewed them as a contemptible race, undeserving the rights of nations or of men. The commencement of their career, in matters relating to the Indians, was radically wrong, and upon these wrong principles we have ever since acted. We cannot go back and undo the errors of two hundred years. We find a suffering people calling on us for sympathy and for justice, the peculiarities of whose condition give extraordinary weight to their claims upon both. These people are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly. They will inevitably be lost in extermination unless we rescue them. The present course of kindness towards them of our Government, of Societies, and of individuals, will not prevent their ruin, because they continue to sink deeper and deeper in woe.

To this summary we append the following inquiries. Do we possess ample means of placing this suffering people, in the enjoyment of the blessings of civilized life, as participated commonly by the citizens of the United States? Can these means be employed without injustice to ourselves, as a nation, seeing the posture of affairs are as they are? To these questions I humbly, but very confidently undertake to reply.



CHAP. III.

In the claims of Indians to the soil, we find ample means for all the purposes of Indian reform.

I have already attempted to prove that the Indians have a legal right to the soil of the territories they inhabit, until the same be by them fairly transferred. We have admitted their incapacity to

manage their own affairs; and have plead the propriety of the United States assuming a guardianship of them; and that this should be done, *not* at the expense of their just rights. Admitting the legality of their claims to the soil, it follows that in the same they possess property, fully adequate to all the demands of the process of their reformation.

This property can be applied to the relief of the Indians without taking one dollar from our treasury. Where then could be the loss to us? It would be loss, only in anticipation; one source of revenue to the United States would be lessened; namely, that from the sale of publick lands. But the changing of the direction of this stream would be for the righteous purpose of allowing it to water the fields to which it does rightfully belong; and in so doing, we should no more than discharge a just debt, the payment of which we cannot withhold without violence to the better feelings of the human heart.

Admitting that the state of society and the policy of our Government imperiously require us hereafter to possess ourselves of large portions of Indian territory, yet neither the one nor the other requires us to deny to the Indians an equivalent. In the construction of publick works, you take the land of the minor, because your convenience requires it; but you secure to him an ample remuneration. He is incapable of stipulating for the terms of this remuneration; therefore you do this for him. The Indians are, also, incapable of stipulating for profitable terms. It would become us to do this for them, and that too, by fixed and righteous rules.

At the treaty of Chicago, signed Aug. 29, 1821, held with the Puttawatomie, and parts of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes of Indians, there were ceded to the United States, within the limits of Michigan Territory, 4,472,550 acres of land, and within the State of Indiana, 460,800 acres, making an aggregate of 4,933,350 acres.

Twelve and a half cents per acre, which amounts to the sum of \$616668,75, we suppose to be sufficient to meet all the expenses of the treaty at which the purchase was made, and the expenses of surveying and preparing the land for market. The minimum price of Government land is \$1,25 per acre. At auction it often sells much higher. But on account of expenses of purchase, and of sales, and on account of unsaleable lands, our calculations reduce the real value, and say it is worth, clear of all expense of purchase, &c. sixty-two and a half cents per acre.* The purchase under consideration at this rate, is worth to the United States, really, \$3083343,75. We therefore acquire, in this transaction free of all costs, the very respectable sum mentioned above, which sum we can apply to the benefit of the Indians without taking a single six-pence from the property of any

* If it should occur to any one that our allowance for unsaleable lands is too small. I would remind him that we are not to calculate their amount from what is unsold. It is well known that millions of acres of valuable lands are now in market, unsold for no other reason than because the United States acquire lands of the Indians so frequently, and to such a vast extent, that great latitude is afforded to purchasers to stretch over the country in the selection of favourite spots, leaving behind them much valuable land, which, were it not for the reasons just now assigned, would soon yield to the United States the value of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Again, let Government put all their unsold lands which are now in market, at seventy-five cents, and at fifty cents per acre, according to its comparative value, and your markets will presently be crowded with purchasers, and unsold lands will soon become scarce.

citizen of the United States. The people to be benefitted by this sum cannot exceed in number seven thousand souls.

In the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri, and in the territories of Arkansas and Michigan, the United States have acquired lands from the Indians to the amount of 214,219,865 acres. Let us moderate our calculations, and say the land is worth to us, clear of all expense, 50 cents per acre, we then have acquired in it a real property—\$107,109,932.50. Let it be observed, this sum has been acquired by purchases made within only nine States and Territories, out of twenty six. And further, there yet remains in the States and Territories named, a considerable amount of land to which the Indian title has not been extinguished.

The above sum would have been worthy of our government in the work of Indian reform, and commensurate to all the exigencies of such an enterprise. Admitting that it is greater than would have been necessary, still it could *all* have been applied without *loss* to us; and in proportion as we diminish the amount to that which would have been actually required, we find a positive profit to ourselves.

While on this point, it might not be amiss to indulge a thought occasionally on the circumstance, that millions of acres of Indian lands have come into our possession without treaty, or the formalities of purchase or pay, and on the small amount in the aggregate which purchased the residue, in all the states not named above.

I do not pretend to say that any plan adopted now, ought to operate retrospectively. I have made the foregoing calculations, merely for the purpose of showing what might have been done, and what may be done in future, with entire convenience to us. There are yet millions, many millions of acres of valuable territory, which have not been ceded to the United States. It is their application only, to the benefit of the Indians, that we ask. I declare myself at a loss to conceive what reasonable objection any man could make to this measure.

Again, should the above be considered a sacrifice on our part, should it be considered too great a change in our policy in relation to the Indians, then, we would propose that they be allowed the use of those funds for a given time; say thirty years, and let the interest only of the stock be employed for their benefit. This would be, in itself, only allowing them the use of their lands for that period, with the express understanding that, at the expiration of the term, all their claims would be relinquished to the United States forever. By the act which creates these funds, we acquire the Indian territory; from which they retire, leaving us the entire occupancy of the same. This, as I trust we shall learn in the sequel, would be vastly better for the Indians, than the actual occupancy of those lands for the same length of time. No objection, therefore, arises to our proposal from the consideration of their interests. And it will at first sight be abundantly obvious that the measure would be greatly more advantageous to the United States than to allow them to reside on those lands for that period.

Were we to allow them the interest only of the funds created by the sale of their lands, after paying all expenses thereon, occasioned by treaty, survey, &c. the proceeds of the treaty made at Chicago, in 1821, that is to say, the interest on \$3083343.75, at six per cent. per annum, would be \$185000.62½. This annuity, as before stated, would be for the benefit of about seven thousand souls.

By the same calculation, the annual interest on the sum we found just now, created by the acquisition of Indian lands in nine States

and Territories that we mentioned, to wit, the sum of \$107109932.50, would be \$6426595.95. Were we expending at this time the annual sum last mentioned, on only a portion of our Indians, we should be doing no more than paying them the interest of a debt which we justly owe, of the principal of which, our proposal does not solicit the payment.

A portion of the Puttawatomie tribe, in number about 3,500, yet own, I suppose, in Indiana and Michigan, 5,000,000 of acres, which would be worth to us, at the rate of sixty-two and a half cents an acre, \$3,125,000, the interest on which, at six per cent. per annum, would be \$187,500.

Let us take another view of this subject. The Chippewas inhabit along the line between the United States and Canada; the greater portion of them on the Canada side. Let us leave them, and perhaps some others, entirely out of our present calculations; and on this account leave out so much of our north-western territory, as lies north of the forty-sixth degree of northern latitude. We will then suppose, upon a safe calculation, that we still have remaining in the north-western territory, that is, south of the forty-sixth degree of latitude, and north of the State of Illinois, and west of lake Michigan, and east of the Mississippi river, 45,000,000 of acres. I suppose there is yet within the States of Illinois and Indiana, and the Territory of Michigan, 10,000,000 of acres of Indian land, not ceded to the United States, which, added to the 45,000,000 mentioned above, make 55,000,000 of acres. This, at the rate of sixty-two and a half cents an acre, would be worth to us, free of all cost, \$34,375,000. The interest on which, at six per cent. per annum, would be \$2,062,500. The tribes to be benefitted by the above sum are Ottawa, Puttawatomie, Winebago, Menominee, Sauk, and Fox.

The plan under consideration will not suffer at all by the supposition that all these lands could not, at once, be turned into profitable stock, for neither would the process of Indian reform require it. The lands of course would be obtained from the natives from time to time, as would best suit the convenience of our Government. There would also be a space of time in each case, between the ceding of it to the United States, and the actual application of nett profits on the same to the use of the Indians. But each case provides for itself. The benefit would commence and increase with the beginning and growth of the nett profits thereon. And if, as our plan proposes, the profits to the Indians shall be limited to a certain number of years, that period would be fixed according to the commencement of the emolument, and in proportion to the sum that would be of necessity advanced for the purpose of so situating the Indians, as to enable the United States to settle the land without inconvenience to the former. Still the amount of profit to the Indians, for the property under consideration, would ultimately be the same. Without doubt, the revenue would commence, and would increase on a scale sufficiently large to meet the necessities of any civilizing operations that our Government would choose to adopt.

The same calculations will apply, with similar advantage, less or more, to the Miamies, and to all others on small reservations in Ohio, New York, and New England, and to others on our borders, and who might require our attention, west of the Mississippi river.

Take particular notice—the sum just stated, would be provided at no higher expense to us than what would be tantamount to allowing

the Indians to remain on the lands the aforementioned term of thirty years, and then relinquishing them to us forever, without any further consideration. The question, therefore, turns upon this single hinge—Can we afford the Indians the use of those lands for thirty years, upon the consideration that they shall ever afterwards be ours, admitting that they may enjoy such use, or its equivalent, without remaining in the way of our settlements, or of our business? This being admitted, we take possession of the lands immediately, and instead of allowing them a residence thereon, apply to their use, for the same term of time, the interest of a supposed real stock which we would have in the said lands.

What reasonable objection could we raise, to allowing the Indians to enjoy the benefits of their lands a few years longer, when we should, in the mean time, derive all the advantages of settling on those lands?

If our Government should choose to positively invest the stock under consideration, then there would be at the end of these years, belonging to the United States, not only the country itself, but also a disposable fund of \$34,375,000. This, we will recollect, is only one verse in the chapter. The calculations which have led us to this fund, include only the Indians south of the 46th degree of northern latitude, east of the Mississippi river, skirting for its southern limits, the northern parts of Illinois and Indiana, and extending a little distance into Michigan Territory, east of Lake Michigan. All others, with their millions of territory, have been left out of our calculations.

Further, if it be necessary to make the matter still more favourable on our part, let us suppose that in the operations of our present policy, the *Pottawatomies* will undoubtedly occupy the northern parts of the State of Indiana fifteen years. I say, before the United States will have extinguished the whole of their claims to that section of country, and they shall have fled, the few who will be alive, to some more remote district, according to the ordinary fate of the Indians, and that, during the whole of this term of time, they are in our way, to the great annoyance of the settling of the country. But, let us suppose that the plan under consideration would remove them in five years; this would secure to us the earlier occupancy of ten years, of the country in question. This would be placing in our hands, the stock contemplated, ten years sooner than we should otherwise realize it, which would be equal to the payment of ten years' interest to the Indians for the same term which they would otherwise have occupied their lands. Or, in other words, it would be equal to a deduction of ten years, from the term of the thirty years which we have supposed the interest would be payable to them.

The advantages which this view of our subject discloses, must go far in the recommendation of our plan. I trust we shall be able to make it appear, that our plan is of a character to justify the above conclusions; not in exact proportion of time, as mentioned above, nevertheless, in a proportion more or less favourable, of which, the above calculation will be found illustrative.

It will be but justice to our scheme to state, in this place, which I shall do with a good degree of confidence, that by it a current annual expenditure of the United States, on about the section of country which we have last had under consideration, without benefit to the Indians, of about \$65,200, will be turned into the account of positive advantage to the natives, or not expended at all. And also, that

another item of current annual expenditure of \$39783,60, may be diminished more than one half.

The first item alluded to, of \$65,200, is the aggregate of annuities paid to those Indians within the district under consideration. There has been a lamentable waste of publick treasure upon Indian treaties;* and I as confidently assert, that there is a lamentable waste of publick moneys in Indian annuities. Our Government is not in the habit of taking their lands for nothing. But it is extremely doubtful whether the thousands of dollars, annually paid to the Indians, as matters are, render them any service. My own opinion is, that all things considered, their annuities render them no service at all, or are worse than none. No person could have been more favourably situated for arriving at a just conclusion on this point; being actually among them for nine years, I am well acquainted with their circumstances both before and after receiving annuities, and declare that I have found no reason for inclining to a different opinion from that just now expressed. I am inclined to believe that there are few, if any, Indian Agents, who are of a different opinion.

Indians usually waste much of their annuities on ardent spirits. The occasion of receiving their pay collects them together into large bodies, and exposes them to greater excesses. In 1821, eight murders among themselves occurred at and near to Fort Wayne, before they left the neighbourhood where their moneys had been paid to them. In the same year, 1821, a few days after the close of the treaty of Chicago, when of course they had the means of procuring whiskey, seven persons, of both sexes, were murdered among themselves, on the same ground, in the course of twenty-four hours. If our conclusion, that the annuities paid to the Indians, as stated above, do them an injury rather than a service, it becomes exceedingly desirable either to close this issue of expenditure, or rather to direct its application to the positive benefit of the natives, according to the design of our Government. That these annuities may be thus applied, I believe, will be admitted by all who dispassionately consider the subject.

Some pledges lately given, that it would appear that our plan provides for the earlier removal of the Indians which are found in our way, than can be hoped for from existing measures, and also provides for the abridgment of an annual expenditure which at this time amounts to about \$39783.60, I hope to redeem a few pages hence.

Should it be asked, Why it is desirable to create a larger fund for the benefit of the Indians, if what we have already bestowed upon them has been wasted, and worse than wasted? I answer, an increase of funds, to be applied in a similar way, is not desirable. That is, to put cash into their hands, or to put blankets on their backs. In the two cases the result is about the same. If you give them clothing, or the means necessary for hunting, there are persons ready to buy the same for whiskey and trifles, and to shop up the very same articles to sell to the Indians afterwards, for peltries and fur.

There are two items of annual expenditure of Government on the Indians which have not been wasted or lost. The first is, the annual appropriation of \$10,000, specially for purposes of Indian reform. This sum has been placed by Congress at the disposal of the President

* This remark is not intended to criminate the officers of our Government, who negotiate treaties, and perform other similar services. Those men proceed according to their instructions. The error is in the policy of the Government.

of the United States. The latter has determined to apply it, not in hiring men to go among the Indians to civilize them, because in many instances he would unwittingly appoint unsuitable persons ; but he has determined to apply it in conjunction with benevolent Associations, who have embarked with zeal and christian prudence in the work of civilizing and evangelizing the Indians. A more judicious regulation, both as it regards Congress and the President, could not be made. In this arrangement, we have the best security for the just and useful application of these funds, of which the imperfection of man admits. Take as an explanation of the whole, the details of the case as it exists within the superintendency of Indian agency, at Detroit, (Michigan Territory.)

Schools are established in the Indian country, actually among them. At these establishments youths are taught letters, and labour, both domestic, agricultural, and mechanical ; and, in a word, whatever is necessary for the improvement of Indian condition. The men, (and the women too) who are employed to manage these establishments, are regular members of Christian churches, and are accountable to the same for their conduct. They are, also, special agents of religious benevolent Associations, formed in various parts of the United States, for the express object of promoting purposes of benevolence. These Associations are composed of men of the first standing in society. They are indeed the select men of the different religious denominations. To these Societies and Associations, the missionaries are accountable. The services of the missionaries are all gratuitous. This circumstance has a powerful tendency to exclude all temptation to abuse their trust. To the Societies under whose patronage they severally labour, they account annually, semi-annually, or quarterly, as the case requires. In addition to this, the Society orders as often as it deems it expedient, a special and competent Agent to visit the establishments, and to report the condition of the mission.

The missionaries are also required to report annually to the President of the United States. In addition to all this, an Agent is appointed by the President of the United States, to visit annually, the several establishments, and to report. All these reports to the Societies, and to the Government, are either published to the world, or are left open for examination at any time. Thus guarded, we may safely calculate that these funds will be applied to the very *best advantage*. And thus far we are very bold in the assertion, in every instance of the application of any portion of them, blessings to the poor savages have sprung up, and have caused the wilderness to resound with songs of joy.

The second item of publick expenditure on the natives which is profitably employed for them, is the amount arising from special stipulations in treaties for education purposes, stipulations, in the spirit of the case, perfectly in accordance with the doctrine we have advanced. These funds, like the direct appropriations of Congress, are placed at the disposal of the President, who wisely directs their application through the same channel as the former.

CHAP. IV.

The only hopeful Plan for reforming the Indians is that of colonizing them.

HAVING arrived at a certainty of the fact that we have at our disposal more than ample means for the accomplishment of all the purposes of Indian reform; means, too, which can be applied without disadvantage to us, possibly, to our own positive profit, it now becomes us to inquire, What plan will most likely be successful in accomplishing the reformation of the Indians?

Without ceremony, I offer for consideration the plan recommended to the wisdom of Congress by Mr. Monroe, late President of the United States, on which the first resolution was moved in that respectable body by Mr. Conway, of Arkansas, which was afterwards happily amended by Mr. Barbour, our present Secretary of War, and which has since been called up to the consideration of Congress by gentlemen whose remembrance will be grateful to the enlightened Indian, and to the friends of Indian reform, while history lives to tell of generous deeds.

This plan proposes the concentration of the perishing tribes in some suitable portion of country, under such guardianship of our Government as shall be found conducive to their permanent improvement, and the guaranty, on the faith of the United States, of said country to them and to their posterity *forever*.

We have already discovered to a certainty, that some measures more efficient than those heretofore employed, *must* be adopted, or the Indians *must* perish. Increase the appropriations for their reform, and the operative means of improvement will take a wider range; but leave the Indians situated as they have been, and as they now are, and they will, nevertheless, pine and perish. We may theorize by our firesides, but facts will speak for themselves. The policy which has been pursued with the Aborigines for about 200 years, is to pen them up on small reservations, or to encourage them to retire farther back into the forests. Now if ever one tribe of Indians has flourished under the circumstances of either of these situations, we will hope that the like may happen again. But if such an event has never occurred, we may confidently assure ourselves that it never will.

Objections to our long continued policy are not merely of a negative character, such as to say, "those tribes do not thrive;" but, our objections say *positively*, that the policy is *ruinous*, and that it has never, in a single instance, failed, and never, in a single instance, will fail, to be prolific in fatal consequences to the Indians. Several tribes have become totally extinct, and of some, scarcely the remembrance exists. Others, once numerous and powerful, are now reduced to a few dozens, or less, of poor, miserable, worthless beings; and the condition of all such is becoming more and more pitiable every year. The degrees of declension and misery are in a regular gradation from those tribes which have a dying remnant, up to those who are but just beginning to melt down by the approach of the whites. We could easily point to particular instances of the rapidity of decline, and of its alarming extent; but this would be consuming time in proof of what is clear to demonstration to all who are acquainted with the history of the Indians.

We are now admonished, in terms clear and distinct, the language of well-known facts, *what we ought not to do*. The question, therefore, presents itself singly, *What ought we to do?* Let the history of the Cherokees, and their neighbours, teach us.

These people have been allowed to occupy a situation similar to that contemplated in the colonizing plan, under consideration. So far as the circumstances of their situation have been in accordance with the spirit of the proposed plan, so far those tribes have thriven. By all the circumstances in which there has been a departure from the spirit of our plan, has their improvement been retarded.

These tribes have been permitted to live where, in some degree, they could cherish a spirit of national ambition. They have felt themselves somewhat at home. They owned a large tract of country, sufficiently so, to allow them to feel their importance as a people. Notwithstanding the United States had not acknowledged their claims to soil to be legal like those of the citizens of the United States, yet such were their circumstances, that they felt less apprehension of being removed, than others of whom we have spoken. They were neither running before the advance of white population, nor pent up on a little spot by a people with whom they could not associate upon an equality. They were so situated as to feel the force of incentives to improvement. They could witness the prosperity of the whites, and hope, that, by imitating their example, they might arrive at similar excellence. Not by mingling with the whites—it was among themselves alone, that they could find the salutary mediocrity of society. Happily for them, they had latitude to think, to hope, and to act. Such a situation, though materially better, being far less affected by the prejudices, and by any, and by all of the evils resulting from the contiguity of the whites, does our colonizing scheme offer “to those who are ready to perish.”

The improved condition of these people not only demonstrates the practicability of Indian reform, but also declares, as on housetops, that we have always been in error in respect to the inveteracy of Indian habits. We now know that if Indians are favourably situated for improvement, they will improve themselves. The work of civilization among the Cherokees appears to have been commenced by themselves; and by themselves, without assistance from the whites, carried forward to a very hopeful and happy extent. With the exception of a well-meant, but limited effort of the United Brethren, who were very worthy men, it was not until the year 1803 that any thing like efficient missionary labours were commenced among them. Even these labours were on a limited scale, and soon discontinued. In the year 1817 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions commenced their successful career in that country. And it was still later that the Baptist Board of Missions formed an establishment in the eastern part of the nation. At this time they were comparatively a civilized people.

It appears that these people had made great improvement in the arts of civilized life, many years prior to 1803. “In 1806, they had assumed, to a greater extent, not only the habits, but even the form of government of a civilized nation. At a kind of national meeting, the formed a constitution, chose a legislative body, and passed a number of laws, among which, was one act imposing taxes for publick purposes.” In 1810, it is said their number was 12,395. There were in the nation 583 negro slaves, 19,500 cattle, 6,100 horses, 19,600 hogs, and

1,037 sheep. They had in actual operation 13 grist mills, 3 saw mills, 3 salt-petre works, and one powder mill. They had 30 wagons, between 480 and 500 ploughs, 1600 spinning wheels, 467 looms, and 49 silversmiths. Circulating specie was supposed to be as plenty among them, as was common among the white people of the neighbouring countries. On their roads they had many publick houses, and on their rivers convenient ferries. Many of them were learning different trades according to their particular inclinations.*

As a further illustration of their improved state, take the following extract from their national Committee and Council, published in the *Columbian Star*, at Washington, March 11, 1826. I give the following resolutions as they were passed among themselves, and written down with their own hands.

“Resolved by the national Committee and Council, that an agent or agents shall be appointed to solicit and receive donations in money, from individuals or societies through the United States, for the purpose of establishing and supporting a national Academy, and for procuring two sets of types, and a press for a printing office, to be established at Newtown, in the Cherokee nation.

Be it further resolved, that the treasurer be, and he is, hereby authorized to apply \$1500, out of the publick funds towards the objects herein specified.”

To the foregoing evidences of the improved and flourishing condition of the Cherokees, I add extracts from the letter of David Brown, a Cherokee, written by himself at Willstown, (Cherokee nation,) Sept. 2, 1825, addressed to the editor of the *Family Visitor*, at Richmond, Virginia.

“These plains [in the Cherokee country] furnish immense pasturage, and numberless herds of cattle are dispersed over them. Horses are plenty, and are used for servile purposes. Numerous flocks of sheep, goats, and swine, cover the vallies and hills. On the Tennessee, Ustanala, and Canasagi rivers, Cherokee commerce floats. In the plains and vallies the soil is generally rich, producing Indian corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, oats, indigo, sweet and Irish potatoes. The natives carry on a considerable trade with the adjoining States, and some of them export cotton in boats down the Tennessee to the Mississippi, and down that river to New Orleans. Apple and peach orchards are quite common, and gardens are cultivated, and much attention paid to them. Butter and cheese are seen on Cherokee tables. There are many publick roads in the nation, and houses of entertainment kept by natives. Numerous flourishing villages are seen in every section of the country. Cotton and woollen cloths are manufactured here. Blankets of various dimensions manufactured by Cherokee hands are very common. Almost every family in the nation grows cotton for its own consumption. Industry, and commercial enterprise, are extending themselves in every part. Nearly all the merchants in the nation are native Cherokees. Agricultural pursuits, (the solid foundation of our national prosperity,) engage the chief attention of the people. Different branches in mechanics are pursued. The population is rapidly increasing. In the year 1819, an estimate was made of all the Cherokees. Those on the west were estimated at 5,000, and those on the east of Mississippi at 10,000 souls. The census of this division of the Cherokees has again been taken within the

* See Brown's *Hist. of Missions* 1st American Edition, Vol. 2, p. 505.

current year, [1825] and the returns are thus made : Native citizens, 13,563—white men married in the nation, 147—white women, do. 73—African slaves, 1,277. If this summary of Cherokee population from the census is correct, to say nothing of those of foreign extract, we find that in six years, the increase has been 3,563 souls. National pride, patriotism, and a spirit of independence, mark the Cherokee character. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians, are the most numerous [religious] sects [in the nation.] Some of the most influential characters are members of the church, and live consistently with their professions. Schools are increasing every year ; learning is encouraged and rewarded. The female character is elevated and duly respected. Indolence is discountenanced. We are out of debt, and our publick revenue is in a flourishing condition. Our system of government, founded on republican principles, by which justice is equally distributed, secures the respect of the people. Newtown is the seat of government. The legislative power is vested in a national Committee and Council. Members of both branches are chosen by and from the people, for a limited period. In Newtown a printing press is soon to be established ; also, a national library and a museum."

In view of the preceding facts, it is presumed that none will hesitate to admit that the Cherokees are a *civilized* people. They have among them men of classical education, and of refined manners. It is not pretended that every individual deserves the appellation of *civilized*, neither does every individual whom we claim as citizens of the United States merit the title.

No one more reveres the character, or admires the valuable labours of the devoted missionaries who have aided the Cherokees, than I do. We make honourable mention of the excellent Moravian missionaries, and of the worthy Mr. Blackburn ; but both these efforts have been too limited to have a sensible bearing upon the condition of the nation. I must say, it was neither missionaries, nor our benevolent Government that taught those people to raise cattle, sheep, and swine ; to build houses, plant orchards, make roads, establish ferries, and houses of publick entertainment ; to plough and reap, to spin and weave ; to establish a form of civil government, regulated by a code of wholesome laws, &c. These, and similar blessings, they had acquired prior to any efficient efforts, either on the part of benevolent societies, or of our Government, for the melioration of their condition. Recently, benevolent societies, and our Government, have very happily contributed to the progress of improvement among these people ; but their aid has been chiefly in the matters of education and religion.

I have long wondered that the fact, that the Cherokees had climbed to their present elevation in the scale of civilization, without assistance from any other people, except the little lately afforded them, should have been so generally overlooked, by those who wrote and spake of them. The omission is calculated to lead us into error in the matter of Indian reform ; and I have no hesitation in saying, that it has already produced this effect ; or rather, it has cherished old established errors in relation to this subject. So long as the publick are impressed with the belief, that the Cherokees have been brought from the savage to the civilized state, by means of civilizing agents which have been sent among them, nothing else is dreamed of in relation to other Indians, than the employment of similar means alone.

They seem to forget that ever since the year 1646, the time that Elliot commenced his ministry among the natives, we have been labouring for some of the more northwardly tribes, and that they have, all the while, been perishing under our hands. They act as if wholly ignorant of the fact, that the Cherokees have acquired their greatness in the absence of the very remedies which alone they seem inclined to apply to the relief of others. Doubtless, it would have been fortunate for the Cherokees, if they had, all along, been amply supplied with civilizing agents. Their progress in the arts of civilized life would have been greatly facilitated by such auxiliaries; but they can be considered, in the work of Indian reform, nothing more than *auxiliaries*. Benevolent Societies and Government may unite in the employment of those auxiliaries, and yet the people perish—place the Indians in a situation favourable to their improvement, yet leave them to encounter the inconvenience of the absence of those auxiliaries, and they will, nevertheless, civilize themselves.

Every one can easily perceive, notwithstanding the above observations, that in the present state of our country and of the Indians, agents for civilizing and evangelizing them, (for the work ought always to be thus blended,) are most desirable to the accomplishment of our undertaking; and I do heartily wish that every one could, also, as distinctly perceive what to me appears no less plain, that unless we colonize these people, and place them in circumstances similar to those of the Cherokees, they will inevitably perish.

Let it be borne in mind that I am not now theorizing; I am stating plain matters of fact, which speak for themselves—the language of which I think cannot be misunderstood by any one. The inferences I have made are such as all must admit.

With the improvement of outward circumstances has been the actual increase in *numbers* of the Cherokees. This is as we might expect it, and the fact serves still further to develop the causes of decrease of those with whom we are contrasting them.

Can any thing in nature be more plain and convincing, than the striking contrast between the miserable wretches on small reservations, or those on our frontiers, not one of five hundred of whom own either cattle, sheep or swine, and not one of ten thousand of whom own either mill, spinning wheel, or loom, house, or furniture, and those flourishing countries, towns, and villages, which are inhabited by the Cherokees?

A thousand sayings might be added corroborative of the preceding remarks, and in support of the conclusions which force themselves upon our judgment; but our object is doubtless attained. There is but one mode of reasoning on the case—that is, so long as Indians remain under the circumstances of the one, they must dwindle; when placed in circumstances similar to the other, they will thrive. For the latter and more favourable situation, the colonizing plan, and that alone, provides. The causes of the opposite processes are not obscure. The one is sunk into the depths of degradation, and has before it no prospects to cherish hope, and a spirit of improvement—while precisely the reverse is happily the case with the other.

The colonizing plan contemplates the elevation of the Indian character. The degradation stamped on them by our first acts towards them, is to be removed by the very first step to be taken in the measure. We denied the legality of their title to the soil. We are now to assign them a country, and to say to them in the language of truth,

never to be revoked, *this is yours—yours forever*. This will be beginning precisely where we ought to begin, at the very point where the evil began, and which has been the seat of disease ever since.

The colonizing plan proposes to place the Aborigines on the same footing as ourselves; to place before them the same opportunities of improvement that we enjoy, and the same inducements to improve those opportunities. The result, therefore, cannot be doubtful. The colony would commence and improve, much after the manner of all new settlements of whites, which have been begun and carried forward, under favourable circumstances. Improvements in houses, fields, &c. would at first be rude and ordinary, but every succeeding year would add to their value, and would increase the number of domestic animals, and the comforts of life in general. Schools would be established among them for the instruction of their youth, which, on account of the poverty of the parents, as well as their ignorance of the advantages of education, would, at the commencement, be charity schools. As the state of society would improve, the calls for charity would diminish, until children, when receiving an education, could be supported by their parents. As by the acquisition of property, the necessity for hunting would be superseded, and they rendered stationary within reach of the schools, the attendance of the youths would be additionally secured. While, at the same time, both old and young would be kept constantly within the sphere of instruction, in morality, literature, and labour. As circumstances would require, schools of higher order would be established, and the number of natives qualified to fill every department in an improving community, in the house, the field, the shop, the school, the state, and the church, would annually increase.

Experience has taught us that a fruitful source of obstacles to Indian reform exists in the community of right in property, which prevails to too great an extent among the Indians. In cases in which the comfort of society requires the blending of property in common, we often find it divided, and vice versa. The husband and the wife, for instance, have their separate claims to their property; and the husband would almost as soon think of selling the horse of his neighbour, without leave, as that of his wife; while their lands, in which the individuality of right, except in the case last stated, ought to be identified, are held in common by all.

This community principle, intrudes itself into the domestic and daily comforts of society, to the serious disadvantage of the whole. An indolent, worthless fellow, who will not grow a hill of corn, will, day after day, sponge his more industrious countryman, as long as the latter has remaining any portion of the fruit of his industry. Thus it often happens that the most idle and improvident, live almost as plentifully, as the more industrious, to the encouragement of the one in indolence, and to the discouragement of the other in industry.

In the colony, a section of land, of proper dimension, would be marked off to each individual, as his *own*, under certain regulations securing his right against the intrusions to which his imperfect judgment would expose him. This circumstance could not fail to teach him to identify property and individual claims, in all cases where the happiness of society requires it. A man could say, *This land is my own*, and would readily infer his supreme right to all its proceeds. The right of husband and wife being blended in their land, they would rationally be led to make a common interest in all property, as well as

in labour, joy, and sorrow, while incentives to industry and economy would present themselves to them, and to their rising posterity, from a thousand sources.

Laws for the regulation of the community, would be provided by the United States Government.* These at first would be few and plain, in proportion only to the wants of the case. In judicial, as well as all other transactions in the community, the natives themselves would be employed, so far as persons could be found possessing the requisite qualifications.

Being concentrated, instead of expanded over thousands of miles, trade and intercourse of the whites with them, could be regulated and maintained upon just and equitable principles. Ardent spirits could be effectually barred out of their country. In a word, all those local evils which are at present frittering away to nothing these wretched people would be avoided. And the advantages which are raising the Cherokees to greatness, would be enjoyed. A logical conclusion, therefore is, the result would be favourable.

Here let us remark, that the Cherokees, to whose improvement we appeal with so much confidence and pleasure, are acquiring their character and comforts amidst a pressure of opposing obstacles. The evils resulting from Indian degradation in the estimation of the whites, from the denial of their legal claim to the soil, &c., reach them also in a lamentable degree. Yet like men who could not brook the miseries of a prison, they are, with Herculean courage, breaking their fetters asunder, and extricating themselves from a labyrinth of woes. The colonists under consideration would be placed in circumstances far more favourable to their improvement, than have been those of the Cherokees; consequently the improvement of the former would be proportionably more rapid than has been that of the latter.

What then follows? These miserable Indians, gathered from their wretched abodes, in which they had been perishing, and placed in "a good land," a land acknowledged to be *their own*, removed from all the baleful causes of their former calamities, and possessed of all the means which have given character and consequence to their countrymen and kindred, the Cherokees, not the slightest probability forbids our confident expectation that they will be lifted up from the dust, to the enjoyment of comforts similar to those possessed by ourselves, and that they will be prepared to call those blessed who wiped away their tears.

The plan of colonizing the Indians promises to relieve us from all the inconveniences arising from their hostilities, from unwholesome sentiments which foreigners, at this time, have an opportunity of instilling into their minds, from their residence among us on small reservations, on which they have become a nuisance to society, and from the great embarrassment which we feel, when a few, better informed than their fellows, come out boldly, and plead their right to the soil, and appeal to the justice, humanity, and strength of the United States, for the defence of their claims. Had the colonizing plan been adopted fifty years ago, all the perplexing difficulties which have recently occurred with our southern Indians, on the subject of their claims, would have been prevented. It is to be hoped that our Government will foresee, in this proposed design, the remedy which is the only remedy of these

* See this subject considered again in Chapter vi.

evils which are otherwise likely to exist, and to multiply to the sad inconvenience of both the white and red people.

Some objections to the colonizing plan, can be more properly replied to when we shall have completed our inquiries relative to the most eligible situation for the colony. I will also add, that the suitability of a situation will increase the weight of every argument which we have advanced in favour of the design.



CHAP. V.

The most eligible Situation for the Colony is west of the State of Missouri, and south-west of Missouri river.

Our next inquiry should be, Where shall we find the most eligible situation for the colony? Notwithstanding the people of the United States have spread over such a vast extent of territory which was once solely the abode of Indians, yet we consider it fortunate for our subject, that we possess much evidence in favour of the opinion, that the most favourable position for colonizing the Indians, that our territories ever afforded, remains at this time unoccupied by us. Obviously no part of our sea coast ever could have been, nor ever can be, spared for such a purpose. In point of commercial advantages the shores of our Lakes on the north, are second only to our sea-coasts on the east and south, and do, therefore, for the same reasons, forbid them a home on their borders. Place them any where in the interior of our country, where they will be surrounded by white population, and they will be still more in our way, than if placed on one of our borders just mentioned. Aside from vexation to us, their residence in the midst of white population would be the source of much evil to them.

Along the vast chain of the snow-topped Andes, or Rocky Mountains, nature has spread, on each side, a barren desert, of irreclaimable sterility. To what extent this sandy desert spreads to the west of those Mountains, and what exceptions to its barrenness may occur, we have not the means of knowing. Dr. James allows it an average width on the east side of the mountains, of between 500 and 600 miles. We are pretty confident, however, that that part of it which will be found to be irreclaimable by industry, will be far less than the above estimate makes it. We shall be safe in supposing the uninhabitable desert to be at least, between three and four hundred miles in width. Add to this the regions of the mountains, and the desert on the west, and we have an uninhabitable region of five or six hundred miles in width, certainly, (with the exception of a few inconsiderable vallies within the region of the mountain itself) and extending south and north into the Mexican, and into the British territories.

This vast region is not termed a desert, merely on account of the almost, or entire, absence of timber, but chiefly because the soil itself is of a quality that it cannot be rendered productive by the industry of man. No portion of our territories furnish so few inducements to civilized man to seek in it a dwelling place, as this under consideration.

This wide desert must forever form an important border to our white settlements within the valley of the Mississippi; especially so,

when we consider that the streams on each side lead *from* the mountains, and so far are calculated to direct commerce from this region, rather than to, or through it. Add to the foregoing considerations the impracticability of navigating most of the streams in the desert, as for instance the Platt, and the entire impossibility of canalling in that thirsty region, destitute of clay and stone, and we are assured that our conclusions are correct.

In the region bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, and on the east by Missouri river and Missouri State, is a vast territory, on the eastern side of which, between the above defined eastern boundary, and the desert, so called, will be found fertile land sufficient for all the purposes which the contemplated enterprise requires. In this place, with the desert in their rear, with no important navigable stream leading into their country, but the reverse, with no inducement in the sterile plains behind them to tempt the enterprise of white men, the colony would be on an *out side* of us, and less in our way than could have been imagined, if nature had not thus marked the boundaries for us. I cannot conceive why we might not, with entire convenience relinquish to them, so much of the country under consideration as the case would require, and assure them that it should be *theirs forever*.

Some objections to this site have been raised upon the supposed impolicy of placing them near to the Mexican territories; and the same might be urged in relation to their being contiguous to Canada. But there is certainly no necessity of planting them very near to either. There is sufficient room for our purpose, without approaching the extremities that come within the reach of the objection; and this very fact we plead as highly commendatory of the place.

The North Western Territory has been spoken of as a suitable place for the colonizing of the Indians. But the whole of that, with the exception of the cold, wet regions, at the very sources of the Mississippi, must soon become a most valuable portion of the Union. It doubtless embraces a great deal of fertile soil, and all our maps tell us that the region is uncommonly well provided with water for navigable purposes. The tide of emigration of the people of the United States, is at this time pressing rapidly towards it; and I am confident that it cannot be stopped on this side of it. Place them on the extreme northern limits of the territory, and they would be immediately adjoining Canada. Bring them down to the southern part, and they would soon be surrounded by the whites; as much so as if they had been located in the state of Indiana. Carry them farther, and set them down between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and our objections still extend to them, though, we acknowledge, with less force as it respects the valuableness of country, and the speedy approach of white population.

Some of our southern brethren have found objections to colonizing the Indians in the western part of Arkansas, and the southern portion of Missouri territories, in the desire that room be left for the extending of slave holding states to the westward. But every objection on this ground vanishes, when we reflect, that our plan does not oblige us to enter the Arkansas Territory at all. In addition to the whole of what is now termed Arkansas Territory, room may be left on the north for another state of convenient size; its narrowest line being laid along the western boundary of the state of Missouri, and the new state extending west for quantity, or perhaps, its western ex-

tremity, inclining somewhat to the north, in order effectually, even in the desert, to separate the Indian lands from the Mexican territories.* In the country under consideration, we can doubtless spare without inconvenience to ourselves, a tract of five or six hundred miles in front on the east, and extending westwardly as far as may be found necessary.

We admit that there is a scarcity of timber generally throughout the district which our remarks have described. But experience in all prairie countries, in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, tells us, that where there is not a defect in the soil itself, the timber will improve both in quantity and in quality, with the settlement of the country, because the grazing of cattle, &c. opposes the annual fires which sweep over those grassy countries to the great destruction of the forests, and to the prevention of the growth of shrubs which take root in the prairies. In the case under consideration, we may safely hope to find timber sufficient to meet the wants of many years; and it is presumeable that its improvement would be equal to the increasing demands of the colony.

A good grazing country must be, of all others, the best adapted to the condition of a people in their transition from the hunter to the civilized state. The comparative ease with which cattle were raised by our southern Indians was no doubt a circumstance that greatly facilitated the improvement of their condition. In the case before us, we have not, after leaving the regions of Arkansas river, the dense and extensive cane-breaks which have afforded winter's food for thousands of cattle in the south. But that this is, nevertheless, an excellent grazing country, none will question: and this very fact, I trust, will contribute not a little to its commutation. The plains will afford abundance of pasturage for summer, and hay for winter.

Objections to the place we are considering, will be raised upon the supposition that the native inhabitants of that country may become hostile to the colonists.

After observing that the same objections will apply with almost equal weight, to perhaps any other territory that would be thought of for such a purpose, we may remark that no doubt can be entertained of our being able to conciliate the present inhabitants. A portion of the emoluments which they would realize from the negotiations by which their claims on the country would be extinguished so far as the case should require, might be in the improvement of their own lands, the erection of buildings, the furnishing of them with domestic animals, implements of agriculture, &c. So that from the very beginning, and if need be, even previously to the settling of strangers in their country, they would perceive the advantages which would result to them from the measure. If we can purchase Indian lands and settle

*It does not come within the scope of my design to contrive for the Cherokees, Delawares, and others, already within the districts just now excepted, or who may hereafter remove into them from the east side of the Mississippi river. My own decided opinion is, that if *all* the Aborigines within our limits, east of the Rocky Mountains, could be placed together in one body, the circumstance would incalculably promote their welfare, both temporal and spiritual, and would enhance, in no inconsiderable degree, the happiness of the whites. I believe the former would find in the circumstance more than an ample compensation for their attachments to the lands of their fore fathers, and the dread and inconvenience of taking possession of a new country; and I cannot admit that the views are chimerical, which cherish a hope that this will one day be the case.

them with white men, why may we not do the same with equal safety when the settlers are Indians. The circumstance would not so readily be viewed as an intrusion, as if the settlers were not of their own countrymen, kindred, and colour. The effect in this respect, as in many others, would be very different from that sometimes produced by the removal westwardly, or northwardly, of these people in former cases, when they were left to make peace or war as they chose with their neighbours. In the present case the emigrants would be kept under the control and management of the United States. The number of the first settlers being small, would be more manageable; and while they would be increasing in number, there would be an increase of restraint arising from individual and common interest, from improvement of mind, and from habitual regard for the regulations provided by our Government. The colonists being prevented from trespassing upon their neighbours, would have very little to fear from them.

It has been supposed that the colonizing plan is calculated to crowd together unfeeling savages, of different tribes, with sectional feelings, and old grudges, and now seconded by new causes of jealousy, to the utter ruin of the whole by faction and murder. Such conclusions as these, to say the least, must be hasty. Were we to fancy a dozen different tribes, some of whom were at variance with each other, and all of whom possessed their national prejudices, brought together on to a small portion of territory, which would require their houses to be within sight of each other, and their farms to be united, we might draw such conclusions. But when we consider the extent of territory which we all will allow, ought to be set apart for the ultimate objects of the design, the smallness of each party that shall first arrive, the different periods at which their several locations would be made, the conclusion need not be drawn that they will be crowded at all. They may be placed just so near to each other as a prudent regard to the condition of each, in view of the whole, would suggest, and no nearer. Notwithstanding that the different tribes, as for example, the Shawanoes, Miamies, Ottawas, Puttawatomies, Sauks, Foxes, Winebagos, Menomines, and Chippewas, might be placed upon much less ground than is at present covered by them, yet the contact of the several tribes would be precisely what it is in their present situation. We apprehend a density of each tribe; but the limits of each tribe or band would only come in contact as they do at present—and if each were provided with the means of living within its prescribed limits, only as well as it is in their present miserable condition, there would exist no greater cause of collision, than there does in the state in which those several tribes are at this moment placed. But let us take particular notice, that the several tribes would be far better supplied with the comforts of life than they are at present, and therefore the grounds, in all respects, on which we might fear the collision of the tribes, would be proportionably lessened.

Some light will be thrown upon this part of our subject, when we shall have under consideration the process of removing the several tribes to the colony. Let us, however, not defer the consideration that no tribe, no portion of a tribe, would be left in the colony subject to the influence of lawless passions. No band would be destitute of the influence of those benevolent institutions, which, among other useful lessons, never fail to teach peace. None will be bold enough to deny that missionary establishments, under the countenance of our Government and a prudent management, can exert an extensive, and in this

respect as well as in others, a salutary influence. The instructions of missionaries, given in the schools and from the pulpit, and the authority of our Government, doubtless furnish strong reasons for silencing our fears of internal broils. If our Government can now interpose its authority to the settling of disputes between contending tribes, each of which spreads out over hundreds of miles of forest, how much easier could it control the same people, if so situated that every member of the community would be daily under the notice of the proper officers, and certainly within the influence of restraints it would impose?

Again, it is never imagined that the Indians will be *forced* into the colony contrary to their inclinations. And as the business of colonizing, so far as relates to the natives, originates in benevolence, no unrighteous means will be employed to *buy* the consent of any to remove to the colony. Naught but sound argument, strengthened by an exhibition of facts, and by honest engagements not liable to disappoint the hopes they excite, will be resorted to. We may expect, therefore, that they who will be induced first to listen to proposals to remove, will be such as are most inclined to follow the advice of our Government. The very fact that a fair, ingenuous course will influence them to leave their former residences, and settle in the colony, augurs strongly that the same honest course of conduct, the same authority, will influence them to remain peaceable among themselves. I cannot here forbear the remark, that their case must involve far less grounds for civil disturbances, than does the situation of these people at the present time.

I shall not do my countrymen the injustice to suppose that serious objections to colonizing the Indians, or to colonizing them west of Missouri State, and south-west of Missouri river, will be made upon the supposition that the colonists might ultimately acquire strength sufficient to tempt them to assert independent rights, and to avenge supposed injuries, to the serious annoyance of the neighbouring States. The above objections would indicate an absence of righteous intention on our part. If we have done them no injustice, conscious integrity has nothing to fear. If we have injured them, the language of the objection would be, Let us make fast the fetters, lest the captives turn upon their keepers; let us complete the work of death already begun, lest the oppress should survive their sufferings and avenge their wrongs.

Insulated as would be the colony in the district of country under consideration, they would have little intercourse, if any at all, with any people beside ourselves, and could therefore inhale no seditious sentiments from abroad. The geography of the country is such that no important commercial intercourse with foreigners could possibly exist. Their exports would necessarily be carried into or through our country, and their imports would return by the same rout. These circumstances would produce the same ties of connexion and mutual interest between them and us, that national roads and canals effect between the several States of our Union.

The colony would grow up under the guardianship of our Government, and would imbibe its spirit and revere its institutions; and it could not fail to admire the enlightened age, and the humane policy which gave them "beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." The objection which we have been denouncing, would extend to most cases of benevolence, and forbid our helping the needy; forbid the adopting of a hapless orphan into our family, lest the beneficiary should ultimately assert an improper authority.

CHAP. VI.

On the Removal of the Indians to the Colony.

IF we have been successful in commending the proposed design of colonizing the Indians,* if we have found ourselves in possession of ample means; and if we have been fortunate in the selection of place, we may very properly inquire, Can the Indians be induced to accept the proposals of our Government to settle in the colony?

Proposals made a few years since, to the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians in New York, to remove to the westward of Lake Michigan, were objected to by many of them: Notwithstanding which, a considerable settlement of these people has since actually been formed in the neighbourhood of Green Bay, which is likely to increase annually by an influx from the same source.

In 1824 proposals were made by the United States' Commissioners to the Shawanoes of Waupaughkonetta, in Ohio, to remove to westward of Mississippi river. These proposals were not acceded to at the time. Nevertheless, without any special interference of our Government, and it is believed contrary to the advice of white men, who might be supposed to have considerable influence among them, and whose private interest it was, that the Indians should remain in Ohio, about one third part of them moved off in a body, in October, 1826, to the western country which had previously been offered them.

Every one knows something of the strong attachments which the Cherokees feel to their country east of Mississippi river; yet we already find thousands of this tribe *west* of that river. These emigrant Cherokees are not worthless stragglers. They possess hundreds of farms, well stocked with domestick animals, and well supplied with farming utensils.

Passing over the migrations of the Kickapoos of Illinois, the Delawares, and some of the Miamies of Indiana, and the Creeks of Georgia, and many others, we assure ourselves that the cases we have cited above are in point, and that they do afford convincing proof that the Indians may be removed to the proposed country, and that they may be removed by fair and honorable measures.

The inducements to a change of country in the cases cited above, must have been incomparably less than those which our colony is expected to offer. Most or all of them migrated from the ordinary principle of retiring from the whites as the latter approached, and without that systematic, certain, and efficient provision for their instruction, and their assistance, which the colonizing scheme devises. We have therefore good grounds to believe that so soon as they can be convinced that the proposals of our Government are made in *sincerity*, the invitations which the colony will give them, will be accepted with joy, and the period hailed as the dawn of a clear day, worthy of being jubilized, when "the outcasts and they that were ready to perish" shall begin to return to the enjoyment of the blessings of a *peaceable* and a *permanent* HOME.

* When speaking of the colonists, we often use general terms, embracing the whole Indian population of our territories. This arises from the sentiment that it would be for the benefit of all the tribes, and from a hope indulged that they will one day perceive it to be for their interest to shelter themselves in the same asylum.

At the treaty of Wabash, Indiana, in September and October, 1826, proposals were made by the United States Commissioners, to the Puttawatomies and to the Miamies, to remove to the west of Mississippi river. They were told that Government would provide them a country somewhere in those regions, and furnish them with schools, smiths, &c. A missionary who had spent many years among them, and whose usefulness in instructing them in a knowledge of letters, and of labour, not to say religion, could not be doubted by them, was offered as their guide, and a promise made that the missionary operations of the establishment to which he was attached, should be continued among them in their new country. Notwithstanding, these Indians refused to remove. This was only what we might have expected. Indeed it happened precisely according to the expectation of the Commissioners themselves. But this circumstance furnishes no solid argument against the practicability of removing these very tribes. The proposals were not, they could not be, made to them under the favourable circumstances that the colonizing plan anticipates. They were told that another country should be given them in exchange for theirs, which should equal it in value, &c. and which should be some where west of Mississippi river. But they could not be informed in what section of those western countries theirs would be, who would be their neighbours, &c. Their answer therefore was precisely such as we might expect sensible men to give. Who that was not obliged to leave his country, would be willing to barter upon such terms?

Let Government provide the place, and a suitable person, one in whom the Indians place confidence, to conduct a few of their people to visit it, and report its character to their tribe, and the subject would address itself to their understandings very differently from the case above cited. Those civilizing establishments which exist in some of the tribes, and which enjoy the favour of our Government, could, without doubt, induce a number of families to remove to the colony at any time. I risk nothing in saying that I have an acquaintance with one such institution, which could readily induce twenty families or more to follow some of its members to the colony, and these twenty families should be taken from five different tribes. As soon, therefore, as Government would point out the place, a settlement, or settlements would be formed from this single source, of five different tribes.

These settlements, let it be understood, would be formed without any further intervention of our Government than the providing of the place, &c. and the necessary countenance to those benevolent institutions. When once some of each tribe should be actually planted in the colony, under the favourable provisions of our Government, we should be properly prepared to propose to the several tribes at home to remove. We could point to the precise spot on which we proposed to locate them, could show them their relations on the ground, the provisions in schools, smitheries, &c. made for their accommodation. The honesty of our intentions, and the policy of their acceptance of our proposals, would be *demonstrated* to their understandings. They would clearly perceive that the measure was very unlike the ordinary affair of removing back the Indians, merely for the sake of ridding ourselves of their trouble, and leaving them destitute of efficient means of improvement. Under these circumstances, not the shadow of a doubt can exist, that the majority of the tribes would readily accept the offers of our Government.

But admitting that some tribes, or parts of tribes, would cling to the lands of their fathers, and we should find their objections to removal too obstinate to be conquered by the plain facts and arguments which the case, as above stated, would furnish; still we should by no means despair of ultimate and complete success. The main principle, which, above all others, ties them to the land of their relations, can be brought under our control, and made to operate in *favour* of their removing to the colony.

We have assumed the ground without fear, that some of the several tribes could presently be taken to the colony. These would have their influence with their kindred and people left behind, by whom they would be occasionally visited, &c. The result of the intercourse between the colonists in comfortable and flourishing condition, and their relations left on their original possessions, who would be miserably declining under accumulating woes, is not problematical. One after another would be drawn into the colony. Now, an Indian says, I will not leave this country because *here* are my relations—then, he would say, I will remove to the colony because *there* are my kindred.

In urging the necessity of the plan under consideration, we interpose not the slightest objection to the continued operations of missionary establishments as they at present exist. On the contrary, we propose an increase of those institutions, and that they be carried on with energy. For as we multiply those institutions, and extend the influence of their operations, we increase the number of those best prepared by habit and disposition to settle in the colony. These institutions would remain in the original places of the tribes, so long as the number of those tribes remaining would demand their labours. These institutions would direct *all* the pupils of their schools, on completing their several courses, to the colony. These youths, assisting by their improved understanding, their affinity to their people, and the fond feelings aroused by their adieus, would be powerful auxiliaries in aid of the removal of neighbouring Indians, unconnected with the schools. All would be told that they were not solicited to go into a land of strangers or enemies—there are teachers with some of whom you are personally acquainted—our brothers, men who are teaching the same things that we are in this place, and who will afford you in that place the same aid that we do in this, in things relating to time, and to eternity.

Finally, the inducements which would invite them into the colony, and their increasing wretchedness which would urge them to leave their original residences, it is fully believed, would not only meet the designs of our Government, but would, in regard to the facility of their removal, far exceed the expectations which had been indulged at the commencement of the undertaking.

It is proper, however, before we dismiss this part of our subject, to observe, that notwithstanding the preceding remarks, we are well aware of some formidable obstacles to the proposed removal of the Indians. The obstacles to which we allude will not derive either their origin, or their support from the Indians themselves, but both will be found in the avarice of white men, near to, or mingling with the Indians, whose interest it is for the natives to remain where they are, and in their present condition.

I deeply regret the necessity of mentioning this circumstance, but justice to my subject, to the Indians, and to my own conscience, demand it of me. We may prepare to encounter a host of opposers,

consisting of traders both licensed and unlicensed, many of them speaking the Indian language fluently, and in habits of daily intercourse with them, often allied by marriage, and otherwise by blood, and of many others, who profit more or less by a commission from our Government, for the performances of services in the Indian department. Remove the Indians, and the fountain fails. Some estimate of the difficulties arising from this quarter, may be formed on considering the influence which the number of those interested persons, under their favourable opportunities, may exert on the minds of these ignorant, uninformed people, whose prejudices against us are generally inveterate, and whose jealousies are ever on the alert. Considering also, that in the transacting of business with the Indians, Government has generally been under the necessity of availing itself of the services of these very persons. The story requires much delicacy in the telling, and perhaps, has never been, nor will it now be plainly told, that scarce a treaty with the Indians occurs, in which the Commissioners of the United States are not obliged to shape some part of it to suit the convenience of some of this class of persons.

While on this topic, let us record it to the honor of our Government and of the individuals concerned, that the former has not been so injudicious in the selection of its officers for the Indian department, whose services are performed in the Indian country, as not to provide men of an opposite character to that of which we have just now complained. We know that Government has in this important trust, officers who are men of the most honest intention, and of irreproachable character. These men from the nature of their business, soon become well known to the Government, and to the public in general. Their talents and integrity raise them above suspicion. Should those men object to the colonizing of the Indians, it would be received as the effusion of sentiment, and not of selfishness. Their instructions from Government will be faithfully followed, whatever may be their own private opinions. Still it does not follow that we have not much, *very much* to fear from the hundreds who will array themselves in the ranks pointed out above. The object may nevertheless be attained. Our Government is not so feeble as to be frustrated in a noble design which involves her own character, and the national salvation of thousands of languishing sufferers within her territories, who are imploring her assistance. The Government *can* accomplish any thing, and every thing, which the plan requires, and do it with convenience to itself.

It is always to be regretted when avarice gets the advantage of the judgment of men. Neither companies nor individuals of respectability in the Indian trade, have any thing to fear from the colonizing scheme. It is well known that the fur trade has been many years on the decline, and that it must necessarily continue to decline. I speak on general terms. Individuals or companies may enlarge their business, and may extend their trade to some sections of country less frequented by traders than others, and by these and similar means realize an excess of profit. We all readily enough conceive the causes of decline, so far as relates to the diminution of fur-bearing and other animals, by the approach of white settlements, and the increase of the trade. But I cannot suppose that its ruin would be materially hastened by merely collecting together into one body the Indians mainly. Fur-bearing animals would multiply no less, and so long as there remain forests and furs in them, there will not be wanting men to take them.

The only just grounds upon which respectable traders could anticipate a diminution of their profits, is the probability that the Indians would leave their country, and the whites take possession of it, sooner than these events would occur by the ordinary process of removing them. But what are the profits of trade realized from the wretched hordes of Indians in New England, New York, Ohio, and those on the frontiers of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois? With some it is nothing, and with others it is a mere trifle. The fact is that the trade in a great portion of the country which we naturally first think of in our colonizing scheme merits very little attention from regular traders, but is left chiefly to those who have neither talents nor money to enter upon business profitably. Some of the more northwardly parts of the regions under consideration afford a trade sufficient to invite the attention of enterprising traders; and let it be observed that these places would be the last affected by the removal of the Indians to the colony. The interests of the whites and the interests of the Indians, alike require that the first to be removed should be those nearest to our settlements, and of course of least importance in the fur trade.

Nearly allied to this subject is the rapid diminution of the Indians, as for example, the once formidable tribe of Miamies, now reduced to about one thousand souls. The number of Indians employed in the chase diminishes yearly. The presumption is, that colonizing would not so materially accelerate the diminution of those who would engage in the proper seasons in taking skins for traffic, as at first we should be inclined to suppose. The colony providing not only for their rescue from the course of casualties and crime, which is prematurely hurrying them out of time, but also for their positive increase in numbers, would thrive upon the excess. Admitting, however, that by the opening of the colony, the number of actual hunters would be lessened, which indeed we believe would be the case; yet the amount of peltries would not thereby be diminished; an individual would take the more.



CHAP. VII.

Regulations of the Colony in relation to Laws and Men.

WE have all along held out the idea that the United States would provide for the colony laws, and officers for the execution of them. We are prone to extremes. Hitherto, in the matter of Indian reform, we have done too little. When we take hold on the subject in earnest, there is reason to fear we shall do too much; and in no point is there so much danger of excess as in that which relates to giving them *laws and men*.

In the judicial department, the wants of the colony in its infancy will be very few. It is not in the savage, but in the civilized state that men learn to practise the intrigues of law. The whole code of Indian laws, if we may apply such terms in the case, is comprised in a few regulations of the most plain and simple character; and yet they extend to all their wants about as well as our volumes do to ours. I am not expressing an opinion with regard to either the utility or the righteousness of their codes. An Indian taken from the woods, could

about as readily comprehend the science of chemistry, as the utility of the numerous laws by which one of our States is governed. Our Government, apprized of this fact, would not shock their feelings and alarm their fears by imposing on them laws, which, in their estimation, would be abstruse and superfluous.

If our Government were at first to place in the colony Judges, Clerks, Sheriffs, Constables, &c. &c., as might be proper in the formation of a colony of people taken from our States, it would be a serious hinderance rather than a help in their reformation. It would place the colonists in a situation so dependent as to check in them the spirit of improvement. As persons assured of ample support from their guardians would feel less ambitious of acquiring a knowledge of business, than if left to provide for themselves, so these might be made to feel the influence of a paralyzing dependence.

We presume that our Government would, at the commencement of the settlement, furnish them merely with such agents as their *immediate* wants would require, without anticipating subsequent ones: and, if need be, would afterwards add men and measures. It is confidently believed that few, very few officers of our appointing, and of our citizens, would ever be needed. We easily perceive that in the infancy of the colony they would not, and in proportion to the increase of their wants for men and measures, would be an increase of competency in the colonists to provide both. So far as the colonists would possess tolerable capacity for the management of their own internal concerns, they ought, certainly, to be allowed to exercise it. By this means they would promote a spirit of national pride that would accelerate their improvement in every respect.

Notwithstanding the wretched condition of the people under consideration, I presume that from the very commencement of the settlement of the colony, they would be far better provided with men of their own tribes, to manage their business of every kind, than even our Government is aware of. There are many promising Indian youths of moral deportment, and sterling talents, who, under the patronage of benevolent societies, and the favour of Government, will have eminently qualified themselves for usefulness in the colony. We are acquainted with one single school in the Indian country, and that not the oldest, which, in less than two years, has placed in suitable seminaries in the states of New Jersey, New York, and Vermont, ten of its pupils, for the purpose of acquiring special qualifications for usefulness among their countrymen. These youths belonging to four different tribes, were taken from the rudest savage haunts, and taught in the Mission School, habits of industry, and afforded that knowledge of letters, which the time of their attendance allowed, and were selected from among their fellow students, as candidates for other stations among their countrymen, than the field, or the shop. Two of them are studying with a view to the practice of medicine, and others, with a view to services in the schools, in the pulpit, and in the affairs of Government.* These are not solitary instances of similar preparations.

* What an unanswerable argument in favour of colonizing the Indians, is found in this circumstance! The benevolence of societies and of our Government instruct Indian youths, in domestic, agricultural, and mechanic arts, and, in a word, prepare different persons for filling with acceptance every department of a civil and religious community, not excepting the affairs of state. But deny us the colony, and these very amiable youths are, in a manner, put out of the world. Their fine feelings

By the time of the opening of the colony, for the introduction of settlers, there will be many who have been instructed in the Mission schools, in a knowledge of domestic, mechanic, and agricultural arts, ready to enter it, and to pursue these useful employments; also, many who had never been connected with schools, but who, in the neighbourhood of the civilizing establishments, have been induced to adopt, in a degree, the habits of civilized life.

These facts assure us that the case will not require Government to furnish many agents besides what may be really necessary to manage affairs between one tribe and another, and the location of each, &c. We must here avail ourselves of a thought that occurs, which will add not a little to our arguments in support of the opinion that the colonists could, pretty easily, be kept in peace among themselves; that is, the colony would be commenced with improved materials, prepared by the purest doctrines of benevolence, either in approved schools, or in their neighbourhoods.



CHAP. VIII.

Concluding Arguments and Remarks.

We have more than once assumed that the plan of colonizing the Indians, provides for the earlier removal of them than could otherwise

could not brook the degradation with which our prejudices would daily load them, if resident among us; and what will the knowledge they have acquired in arts and sciences profit them among their barbarous countrymen? Where, let me ask, upon the face of our continent, can the farmer make his field, or the workman his shop, in the hope of the undisturbed occupancy of either, and in the enjoyment of the rights of man, in common with those around him? Where will those of them whom we have made men of science, find scope for the employment of their acquirements?

I must again advertise my reader that I am not theorizing. My remarks are based upon facts which have occurred under my personal observation. To go no further than the case of the ten Indian youths mentioned above: Their benefactors, after they had brought them up from savage to civil, and even genteel manners, and had reared some of them nearly and others quite to manhood, found their condition involved in a dilemma, from which the anticipation of a colony alone could deliver them. The tribes to which they belonged were in their unimproved, savage, and unsettled state, with slight exceptions which had recently occurred. The time had arrived for these youths to leave the institution in which they had been brought up. Whither should they go? With the exceptions drawn from our preceding observations, no alternative is left but for them to return to their savage countrymen: a people who had no use for a knowledge of letters, who were unsettled, and could not give one acre of land in fee to even one of their own children; a people abandoned to every vice, without a home, without a hope! No wonder if they who had sacrificed the society of friends, and the comforts of civilized life, and who had encountered extraordinary hardships in a residence in the Indian country for the sake of saving those youths from the wretchedness of their less fortunate countrymen, should, after all their privations and labours, regret that these fruits of their toils were under the necessity of returning to the haunts of barbarism.

I wish that I could say the evil had, in no instance, advanced further than to a menace of our hopes, as in the cases stated above. But I am not so happy. I am personally acquainted with many Indian youths who have been brought up by the hand of benevolence, and have completed their courses in, and left the institutions, who are at this moment like friendless outcasts, to whom the earth has denied a place beyond the extent of a grave—half-mingling with their people, from whose wretchedness and depravity they recoil, and half-mingling with the whites, where their bitterness of soul becomes not less intolerable. The evil is progressing. Scores of amiable Indian youths are in the schools, rising to manhood and womanhood, with knowledge and virtue rendering them worthy of an equality in the scale of the most honoured and happy of our race, who must presently be dismissed from the schools under the sickening prospects above stated.

be expected. When we consider the interest which all who are engaged in the work of Indian reform, would feel in the colonizing of these people, and their influence over, at least the pupils of their schools, and the Indians in their immediate neighbourhoods ; when we reflect on the suitableness of the place proposed, and the assurance of assistance, and of the good faith of our Government that can be given to understanding Indians of influence in their tribes ; we flatter ourselves that the ground we have taken will not be disputed. We trust that all will agree that a nucleus to the colony could not only be formed immediately, but it could be formed under circumstances peculiarly favourable to a rapid accession.

In view of all the circumstances relating to this matter, I think few will venture to doubt that the people of whom we are speaking could be removed to the colony, just as speedily as our Government would choose. Most of them are so under the controlling influence of the United States, that they can be removed, without coercion, at almost any time, I mean, as matters at present stand, without any colonizing measures. It would be our interest indeed to have them out of our way ; but motives of humanity forbid removing them, until some provisions be made for their subsequent accommodation. An almost insatiable thirst for the extension of our settlements, prevails generally throughout the United States. When the natives shall be provided with a peaceable and permanent habitation, conscience and interest will alike say, Let them go.

On page 23 we expressed a hope that we should be able to make it appear, that by colonizing the Indians, an item of annual expenditure of our Government, of some moment, would be superseded. The item to which we alluded, is that allowed to Indian Agents, Sub-Agents, and Interpreters. By Force's National Calender for 1824, we learn that the United States had at that time employed in the department of Indian Agencies, nineteen Agents, including one Superintendent, twenty-one Sub-Agents, and twenty-eight Interpreters. The salaries of the first amounted to \$26,500, of the second, to \$3239,30, and of the last, to \$10044,30, making an aggregate of \$39783,60, annually expended in salaries in this department. Allowing that some of the southern Indians would not readily come into our measures, and that agents and interpreters must still remain to them ; it would nevertheless be a safe calculation to suppose that colonizing the Indians would supersede one half, or more of the whole number of Agencies, and the same proportion of expense, say \$20,000 per annum. This is not a trifling sum to be positively saved on the matter alone of salaries connected with Indian Agencies. Add this annual saving to any supposed disadvantage that would result to us from the execution of the plan, or as the matter plainly appears to me, add it to the supposed *real* advantages which the scheme promises to us, and it alike commends the design of colonizing the Indians.

On this subject I have usually throughout, preferred speaking in general terms, especially on the government of the colony. I have deemed it prudent to avoid shackling our plan with small particulars, on which there might be a diversity of opinion, and which might be varied, without materially affecting vital principles. When once the main lines are drawn, the details can easily be filled up. The language of existing measures will be easily understood, when they call for the adoption of new ones. We shall deem it sufficient on this point to add our settled opinion, that Government need *not* employ in

this matter, either a great number of men, or a great amount of money, the success of the enterprise will not depend upon either, or upon both. But to insure success, we should begin in the proper place, and move on with system. We should first find *the place*, and then look out for the people to fill it. And the very same acts which will furnish the *people*, will, at the same time, provide the means for placing them in the colony.*

We cannot too soon take hold of this subject in good earnest. We have already too long delayed it. Our delay has been a pecuniary loss to us of thousands,—may I not more properly say, of millions of dollars, and of thousands of valuable lives, wasted in wars with the Indians—while at the same time, we have interposed no effectual preventive of the wastings and woes of this ill-fated people.

We are not prepared to state with precision the amount of money which has been expended by the United States on Indian wars; but we believe that we shall be safe in supposing that one tenth part of the amount, judiciously applied to the reformation of the Indians, on the plan proposed, would have superseded all necessity for the expenditure of the remaining nine tenths—would have prevented most of the frightful calamities of our Indian wars; and, instead of leaving among, and near to us, a miserable and perishing people, would have ornamented our happy land with another *state*, connected with those which do exist, by such ties as would sit easily and advantageously upon both, embracing hundreds of thousands of happy people.

Our civilizing institutions know not whither to direct the subjects of their charge on the completion of their courses. Too many, alas, of those once hopeful beneficiaries are already sinking to ruin by our delay. Why should we begin the work of Indian reform, and, leaving it incomplete, lose the labour and the funds we had bestowed upon it? Our benevolent institutions which are at present in operation are good; they are efficient so far as we ought to expect them to be. But they cannot reach the whole case. The system is incomplete.

* I said above, that on many points I had chosen to speak in general, rather than in particular terms. I here add that from a desire to exhibit the colonizing plan in a light as unexceptionable as possible, I have not pressed the claims of the Indians to the full extent that my own judgment carries me. Our proposals with regard to place, and also in respect to monied means, are made more favourable to us, than comports with the justice of their cause, and the magnanimity of a wealthy and righteous nation. We can, and we *ought* to do more for them than I have proposed, and a hope is indulged that a generous and humane publick will honourably protest against its littleness. When we speak of leaving none of them in the western portion of what is now termed Arkansas Territory, or west of the State of Missouri, for the distance, say, of two degrees of latitude north of Arkansas Territory, we appeared rather parsimonious. I am decidedly of opinion that they ought to be allowed to inhabit the country farther south than we have prescribed.

It would also well comport with the character of our country, and our abundant resources, to make a direct appropriation of a respectable sum, for the immediate relief of the Indians, and not wait the less expeditious progress of our plan. If we were poor and could not pay our just debts, or bestow a needed charity, we could find an apology for the omission of both. But we are not poor. No nation upon earth can so easily discharge debts of either justice or benevolence, as ours. And it is fondly hoped that in disposition we shall be found to excel, even more than in means.

We have, for a few years past, been trying the experiment of an appropriation for purposes of Indian reform, of \$10,000, per annum. The success of the experiment has exceeded what had been our most sanguine expectations. Taught by experience *how* to apply and *where* to apply, the dignity of our liberal institutions calls upon us to say at once, we *will apply* to this object a sum becoming our character, and commensurate to the exigences of the case.

These institutions cannot be expected to change the wildernesses in which they are located, into fruitful fields, as applied to the natives ; for it is well understood that the natives must shortly leave those places for others unknown, or be exposed to more certain ruin. Those establishments can do no more than take the rude timbers of the forest, and prepare them for the building. Here their labours end. Unless we add other operations for the purposes of collecting together, and of uniting the materials, we shall have the mortification of seeing the objects on which we have bestowed much labor, successively perishing amidst the more neglected mass. We have actually arrived at the place where we are constrained to feel the want of immediate relief, such alone as the colonization system provides for. I have not only witnessed the dilemma of those who are engaged in the work of Indian reform, but also, with my *own ears*, again and again, heard reflecting pupils of the schools, whose good understanding led them to foresee the darkness which intercepted their march, inquire of their benefactors, "Whither shall we go, what shall we do when we leave you?" I wish that one half only, of the anxiety and evil which attend this stage of our work of Indian reform, could be distinctly understood by those who possess power to help. The single instance of one whom I beheld weeping alone, and who, on my inquiry, declared the cause of his grief to be the anxiety to which I have referred above, would furnish argument in favour of colonizing these people, worth volumes of speculations.

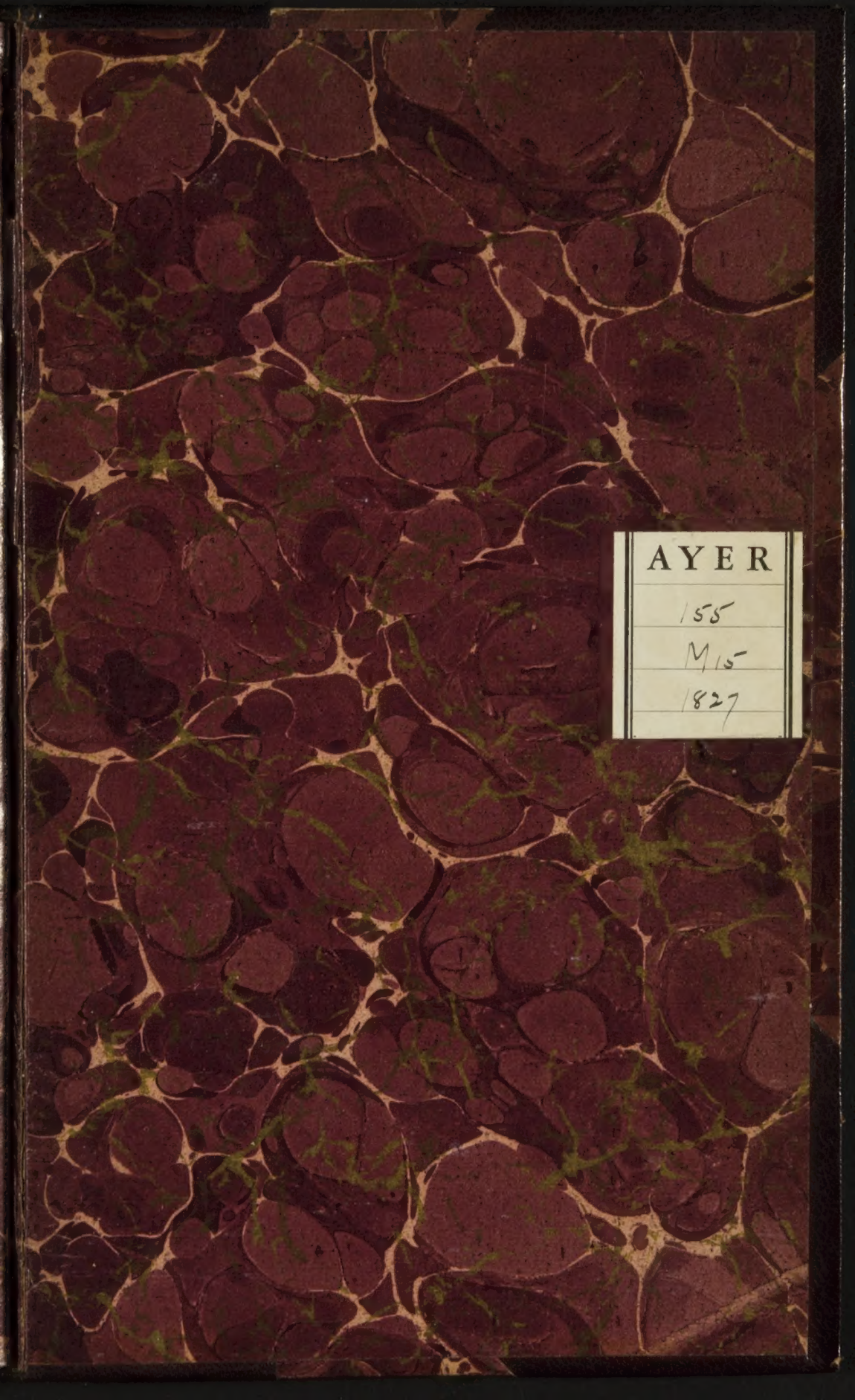
How exceedingly discouraging must be the work of civilizing Indians, to those engaged in it, under existing circumstances. They form missionary establishments in the wilderness under great disadvantages and privations, and all under the sickening reflection, that these stations must soon be abandoned for others, to be made in other forests, further back, to which the people for whom they toil will soon be driven. With a long trial of their patience, they at length prevail on some of their rude neighbours to erect houses, and enclose fields. They have the satisfaction to see them beginning to raise domestic animals, and to hush the cryings of their half-starved children by something like a regular supply of wholesome food. They would congratulate themselves on the prospect of receiving an ample reward for their labours ; but the thought perpetually haunts them—These people must soon quit their fields and houses, and go back into the wilderness again, or what is worse, be circumscribed to a small spot, surrounded by white population—in which case their destiny ceases to be doubtful.

But with all the regret which benevolent associations feel on these accounts, even when their labours are aided by the patronage of Government, they have not the power of improving the matter. They may form new establishments, and strengthen old ones. But they have not the power of procuring a single spot upon the face of the whole earth, on which they may locate the people of their charge, and say, Here you may "sit under your own vine and fig-tree, and none shall make you afraid." This power is vested alone in Government—to our Government we *appeal*—we do it in behalf of a people who cannot plead their own cause, some of whom sit this moment by my side. Oh that God who made the world to be inhabited by man, would grant a little space for the occupancy of these people!—Would grant them some room in the sympathies of our Government!

A BRIEF RECAPITULATION *shall close our remarks.*

We have plead that the Aborigines of our country are not noxious vermin of which we ought to rid the world, but *men*, entitled to the rights of men. The justice of their claims to the soil they inhabit, is not inferior to the most righteous and undisputed title, that any people, in any part of the earth, ever preferred to a portion of it. These people, whatever may have become of a portion of their property, or wherever may be the residue of it at present, have left a wretched remnant, lingering on our borders, immersed in misery, rapidly sinking into extinction, and without power to save themselves. Unless our Government pluck the half-consumed brands from the fire, they will soon disappear. We have the means of doing it—of doing it without loss to ourselves, and in all probability, with positive convenience and profit to us. We have the best place which our portion of the continent ever afforded for such a purpose, yet unoccupied by us, to give them for their perpetual home, and we can conveniently and speedily remove them to it. In their case there is no alternative ; without colonizing them, they will inevitably perish, as past experience testifies ; with it they will be saved, as proven by evidence no less indubitable. *Shall we save them or not ?* Heaven and humanity direct the answer!





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